

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. VI

MAY 1881

No. 5

LAFAYETTE'S LAST VISIT TO AMERICA

On the 24th of February, 1824, the following letter was written at the Executive Mansion, in Washington:

"MY DEAR GENERAL,—

I wrote you a letter about fifteen days since by Mr. Brown, in which I expressed the wish to send, to any port in France you should point out, a frigate to convey you hither, in case you should be able to visit the United States. Since then Congress has passed a resolution on this subject in which the sincere attachment of the whole nation to you is expressed, whose ardent desire is once more to see you among them. The period at which you may yield to this invitation is left entirely at your option, but believe me, whatever may be your decision, it will be sufficient that you should have the goodness to inform me of it, and immediate orders will be given for a government vessel to proceed to any port you will indicate, and convey you thence to the adopted country of your early youth, which has always preserved the most grateful recollection of your important services. I send you herewith the resolution of Congress, and add thereto the assurance of my high consideration and of my sentiments of affection.

JAMES MONROE."

When this letter reached the venerable hero at La Grange, then fast approaching his three score years and ten, it seemed to bridge over the half century that had almost elapsed since he left the attractions of a court and the sweeter ties of home, to fight for the cause of liberty and right in a foreign land. For two and a half decades had Washington now lain in his grave at Mount Vernon, and the French Revolution and the dungeons of Olmutz rose up between the present and the past. But America was America still; the country for which, in his first youth, he had fought and bled, sharing the hardships and dangers of her sons; and this call from over the sea, after the space of years, from living friends and the children of those who were gone, touched a chord in his genial heart which responded warmly to the summons.

Declining the offer of a national vessel, Lafayette, accompanied by his son and his secretary, sailed from Havre on the 13th of July, in the American ship *Cadmus*, and reached New York on the 16th of August, 1824. The twenty-four States of the Union were fairly wild with joyous anticipation, and prepared to pour out the full vials of American enthusiasm upon the half hero, half god, who seemed second only to Washington. The wear and tear of hand-shaking, feasting, speech-making, and sight-seeing to which the illustrious visitor was exposed for the next year, as well as the endurance, zest and unflinching tact and politeness with which he went through it all, are simply amazing. He traveled east, he traveled west, he traveled north, he traveled south; he embraces and weeps over old comrades by the score; is addressed and sung to by young maidens in white and old veterans in blue; is whisked off from one entertainment to another; braves Siberian cold, and endures tropical heat; is shipwrecked on the Ohio, and has never a moment that he can call his own, yet comes up smiling at the end, with the same expression of enjoyment and delight in everything as at first. The nation's guest seemed thoroughly to appreciate his entertainment.

The papers were full of him from the beginning, chronicling every movement with pre-Raphaelite accuracy; and the following language of one of the dailies is a fair type of them all: "Yesterday was, indeed, a proud day for New York, a proud day for America, a proud day for liberty. The 16th of August, 1824, will be remembered with joyful emotions by all the friends of free principles as long as liberal institutions and free government are cherished, so long as gratitude dwells in the human heart; and by Kings and Princes with fear and trembling till the thrones of monarchs are leveled with the dust."

Even nature itself seemed to smile upon the hero; and Mr. Lavasseur, his secretary, chronicles the auspicious fact: "The day of our arrival at Staten Island, while the General was receiving the congratulations of the people from the balcony of the Vice-President's house, a rainbow, one of whose limbs enveloped and tinged Fort Lafayette with a thousand colors, appeared; the multitude, struck with the beauty and opportuneness of this circumstance, exclaimed that 'heaven was in unison with America in celebrating the happy arrival of the friend of the country.'"

This appellation of *General* was the subject of much discussion; for as Lafayette had invariably been known throughout the war as "the Marquis," it was not easy for the press to adopt the more democratic

title. "During several days," to quote Mr. Levasseur again, "the newspapers, in giving an account of his movements and of the entertainments given to him, used no other appellation in speaking of him; and they only relinquished it when they learned that the General constantly refused to resume this title since his renunciation of it in the National Assembly. His cotemporaries had a great deal of difficulty in renouncing an old habit which was not without its charms to them, since it reminded them of their youthful days." In Philadelphia, an old lady, who remembered him as he was during the Revolution, pressed toward him, through the crowd, saying: "Let me pass, that I may again see that good young Marquis."

After a while, it became understood that "the title most acceptable to our distinguished visitor is that of General. This has been repeatedly stated; yet some newspapers and official addresses continue to call him Marquis. On his first arrival, a gentleman addressed him by both appellations and then asked him which was most agreeable. He unhesitatingly and emphatically replied: 'I am an American General.'"

The Cadmus reached Staten Island on Sunday, and a deputation from New York requested Lafayette to postpone his entrance into the city till the next day. He was entertained in the meanwhile at the house of the Vice-President, Mr. Tompkins. One of the first persons whom the General saw on landing was his old associate in arms Colonel Platt, whom he immediately recognized at some distance, and the two involuntarily rushed toward each other, while the eager crowd retired on either side as by a common impulse. Colonel Platt hailed his old commander as "only second to the Father of his Country, and the only surviving General of the Revolution." Lafayette was greatly affected at the meeting and at the reminiscences which naturally followed.

"The venerable chieftain of the Revolution and gallant friend of America" was very dear to all those who remained of his old comrades; and one of these, General Philip Van Cortlandt, a member of the Cincinnati, and appointed by that Society at their meeting on the Fourth of July, as one of the Committee to receive and welcome General Lafayette on his arrival, was so anxious to be among the foremost in grasping the hand of his illustrious friend, that he had made arrangements some weeks previously to have an express despatched to his residence on the first signal of the approach of the expected guest. He lived at Croton, forty miles from the city; and in spite of starting at four o'clock in the morning and using all possible expedition for those

days, he did not reach the steamboat wharf in New York until just after the Chancellor Livingston had cast off! "But he was descried from on board, a boat sent for him, and he had the inexpressible satisfaction of embracing his old compatriot immediately on his coming on board at Staten Island. He felt it to be one of the happiest moments of his life."

The Chancellor Livingston had been sent to convey Lafayette from Staten Island to New York; and carried the various deputations of the city, the generals and officers of the militia and of the army and navy, a detachment of infantry, and more than two hundred of the principal citizens of New York, among whom the General recognized many of his old fellow soldiers, who expressed their joy at seeing him once more among them. The West Point Band meanwhile performed the French air, "*Where can one be better than in the bosom of his family?*" "See, the conquering hero comes," the "Marseillaise," and "Hail, Columbia."

A squadron of boats accompanied the Chancellor Livingston, all provided with bands of music, and presenting a gay appearance with their numerous flags and the crowds of ladies on board of them. On reaching the Quarantine wharf, these boats lay off in a semi-circular form; and nearly all the population of Staten Island seemed to have turned out to see the illustrious visitor embark. "The spectators formed a line opening to the right and left; and the veteran General marched down with his hat in his hand, amidst the cheers of the people; and passing under a triumphal arch formed by the American and French flags, he entered on board of the steamship Chancellor Livingston and was received by the Marines of the United States with Military honors."

The landing at the Battery was a truly magnificent sight; the elegant steamship Robert Fulton, brave with many-colored flags and manned by two hundred sailors from the Constitution," there joined the Chancellor Livingston; and the bay was fairly covered with boats gayly decorated with flags and filled with brave tars. "The Cadmus, which followed us," says one of the party on board the Chancellor Livingston, "appeared rather to be led in triumph than to be towed by the two steamboats which accompanied her. As we advanced, the forts which protect the harbor, and afterwards the houses bordering on the water, became more distinctly visible; soon after, we could distinguish the crowd which everywhere covered the shore, perceive its agitation and hear the shouts of joy. At two o'clock the General landed at the

Battery amid the acclamations of two hundred thousand voices which hailed him with sounds of blessing and welcome. The *Lafayette Guards*, dressed in an elegant and neat uniform, bearing on their breasts the portrait of the General, escorted him in front of the long line of militia drawn up to receive him. The General, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, marched along the front; as he advanced, each corps presented arms and saluted him with its colors; all were decorated with a ribbon bearing his portrait and the legend 'Welcome, Lafayette,'—words which were everywhere written and repeated by every tongue. During the review the cannon thundered on the shore, in the forts, and from all the vessels of war."

At Castle Garden a stairway had been prepared for the occasion and richly carpeted, and terminating in an arch decorated with flags and laurel wreaths. As Lafayette passed under the arch, a Major-General's salute was fired from Fort Columbus, and a national salute in honor of the nation's guest from a battery of field artillery. The trees at the Battery were laden with human beings who were bent on getting a good view of the Revolutionary hero; and every house along the route where the procession passed was lined with spectators to the roof. From the throats of the assembled multitude issued one long "huzza!" from the moment the object of their excited interest left the boat until he disappeared from sight.

Says one, who first caught a glimpse of the veteran as he passed into the Garden, "his countenance beamed with joy and bespoke the feelings of his heart and all that was passing in his mind. His dress was plain and republican in the extreme; nankeen pantaloons, buff vest, and plain, blue coat with covered buttons; and he wore the hat (which, by the way, we did not see upon his head the whole day), that was sent out to him by Mr. H— of this city—an honor conferred upon the manufacturer which he feelingly appreciates." This same Mr. H— made a very happy rejoinder when Mr. George Washington Lafayette wished to pay for the hat he had ordered, saying that "all the hats he could supply to the Lafayette family were paid for over forty years ago."

A barouche drawn by four white horses conveyed Lafayette from Castle Garden to the City Hall; while his son and his secretary, with the committee of the city corporation, followed in carriages. The General was escorted up Broadway by a line of troops; but the crowds of people who thronged on every side to "pay honor to the respected visitor, and to be gratified with a sight of his person," almost prevented

any advance of the carriages and cavalry, and the noise of their acclamations was deafening. At the City Hall, the guest was conveyed by the committee to the council-chamber, where he was received by the Mayor and Corporation, and appropriately welcomed in the name of the city. In reply to the Mayor's speech, Lafayette said, with great feeling:

"Sir, while I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions no more to be found in this land; the pleasure to see again those who have survived; this immense concourse of a free Republican population who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops; the presence of a corps of the national navy, have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate. You have been pleased, sir, to allude to the happiest times, the unalloyed enjoyments of my public life. It is the pride of my heart to have been one of the first adopted Sons of America. I am proud also to add that upwards of forty years, I have been particularly honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my profound and everlasting gratitude, devotion and respect."

Then followed hand-shaking and presentations by the hundred; for two hours or so, the crowd filed in and out of the City Hall, and the humblest among them could boast to their descendants, "I have shaken hands with Lafayette." Even at five o'clock, the much-welcomed visitor found it no easy matter to escape from the admiring crowd to repair to his quarters at the City Hotel, which had been especially fitted up for his reception. His secretary writes: "The National Standard displayed over the door indicated from afar the residence of 'the Nation's Guest'—the glorious and moving title by which he was greeted with acclamations when he entered. A splendid dinner, at which all the civil and military authorities were present, terminated this day, which alone might be considered as a glorious recompense for the greatest sacrifices; yet which, however, was but the prelude to the unexampled triumph reserved for Lafayette."

During his stay in New York, two hours of each day were devoted to the public in the City Hall, where they rushed in throngs to see him; and where he also received deputations and committees, and endless

invitations to visit every city and village in the United States, and every public building in and around New York. His first stay in this city was of only four days' duration; and one of his most interesting visits during that time was made to the rooms of the New York Historical Society, on the 19th of August, to which he was conducted by the President, Dr. Hosack. General Lafayette and his son, George Washington Lafayette, were made honorary members of the Society; and the President said, in his speech on the occasion:

"In announcing to you the resolution of this Society, permit me to observe that it was the exclusive object in the formation of this institution to collect, preserve, and record, the materials appertaining to the history of our State and country. Among these, none have been so precious as those relating to the Revolution in which you bore a memorable and distinguished part; and to whom, under Providence, our country is signally indebted for its independence, and the prosperity and success that have followed in its train."

Appropriate replies were made by the General and his son; and the day was one of pleasant memories on both sides.

On the 20th of August, the illustrious visitor left New York for Boston, a journey which occupied five days on account of the enthusiastic hospitalities proffered by the way. "Every cottage and farmhouse near enough to the road for the inhabitants to be apprised of his approach was emptied of its inmates, who lined the wayside, their countenances gleaming with the most animated curiosity while they bowed with respect and gratitude. The hardy sons of toil, leaving their ploughs in the half-furrowed field and casting aside their implements of husbandry at the sound of '*The General is coming!*' were seen rushing to the roadside waving their hats with enthusiasm, and giving vent to their feelings in shouts and huzzas." And this continued, not for ten nor for twenty miles, but through the whole of the route; bands of music, bells, and everything calculated to add noise and enthusiasm to the reception, being lavishly added.

From Sawpits, the General was escorted by cavalry to Putnam's Mountain at Greenwich, generally called "Horse-neck," in allusion to Putnam's remarkable feat; and here what is characterized as "a heart-uplifting scene" took place. The road is cut through a solid rock about twenty feet high on each side: and a rural arch formed of pine branches and wild brier, intertwined with roses, reached across from side to side. Hanging from the centre of the arch was a shield, with the inscription: "*This Arch On The Hill Rendered Memorable By The Brave*

General Putnam, Is Erected In Honour Of The Illustrious General Lafayette, The Early And Distinguished Champion Of American Liberty And The Tried Friend Of Washington." Over the shield waved an old Revolutionary flag, "mangled and torn in the battle's fiercest rage."

At New Haven, he was received by the students of Yale College drawn up in two lines on the green; and New London and Providence made grand demonstrations in honor of the distinguished guest. Arriving at the former city in the evening, the inhabitants eagerly improved the opportunity for a brilliant illumination. At Providence, on reaching the State House, the General left his carriage, and "was received in a peculiarly interesting manner. The poplar avenue leading to the building was lined on each side with nearly two hundred misses arrayed in white, protected by a file of soldiers on each side, and holding in their hands bunches of flowers which (as the General proceeded up the avenue supported by the Governor's aids) they strewed in his path, at the same time waving their white handkerchiefs. The General was afterwards pleased to express the peculiar and high satisfaction he took in this simple and touching arrangement."

Old comrades in arms appeared almost everywhere, and received from Lafayette the most affectionate greeting. His tour was that of a triumphal progress, and everything along the way was placed at his disposal. A story is told in this connection of the shrewdness of an old lady at a Connecticut turnpike, who was accosted by a traveller with the words: "Well, madam, I suppose you are very glad General Lafayette has come, as you must have made oceans of money to-day at the gate?" "Sir," was the indignant reply, "you must know that the General and his friends go through this gate free of toll, and I should like to have him pass *a thousand times!*" "O, ho! then your gates are free now?" "Yes," replied the Connecticut dame, without a moment's hesitation, "for such men as Lafayette, but not for those *who come so far behind him.*" This last remark quickly brought a York shilling out of the pocket of the narrator, who "hastened to get out of her sight and the range of her wit."

Arrived at Boston, the hero was triumphantly conducted to the State House, where the children of the public schools were drawn up in a double row to receive him, all decorated with Lafayette badges and welcoming him with cries of joy. A little girl of five or six approached him with a wreath of evergreens, and was lifted into the barouche to crown Lafayette. This she did so gracefully, addressing him at the same time in French, that the General, transferring the wreath to his

arm, kissed the child with rapture. Fresh triumphs of all sorts awaited him here, and the whole city was in commotion—"drums beating, bugles echoing, horses prancing, and troops marching in all directions." The same open barouche with four white horses was ready at every point; and followed by escorts, cavalcades, and trains of carriages, the veteran was exposed to the admiring gaze of the immense concourse assembled to greet him. "Some leapt up, clapping their hands in an ecstasy of joy; and others burst into tears. . . . From the window we looked down on a multitude extending along the road as far as the eye could reach, and all intent on expressing their respect and gratitude to a public benefactor. . . . Along the whole route, the sidewalks, the piazzas, windows, and even the roofs of houses were thronged with spectators. . . . Over the streets, in at least a dozen places, arches were erected and festoons of flags extended. Banners, bonnets and handkerchiefs waved from every window as the procession passed." It was a fortunate circumstance, as the illustrious visitor's head was uncovered all this time, that "the day was cool, fair and delightful."

On the same day, Lafayette attended the Commencement at Harvard; and was afterward present at a grand dinner in the hall of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at which Judge Story presided, and such kindred spirits as Ware, Everett, Josiah Quincy, Governor Eustis, Governor Brooks, etc., took part. On being asked if he was not fatigued with such extraordinary exertions and such constant excitement, the veteran General replied that he "experienced too much *pleasure* to find any time for fatigue." Another instance of his great tact is given in the answer made to the gentleman who, while talking with him, observed that "he spoke the English language remarkably well." "And why should I not," was the smiling reply, "being an American just returned from a long visit to Europe?" The next morning, General Lafayette held a reception in the State House; in the throng which welcomed him was an aged colored man who had been for many years a servant in the family of Governor Hancock, and in this capacity waited on Lafayette when he was "the young Marquis." To his great delight he was recognized at once and greeted with peculiar kindness by the General who, for some time, held him by the hand in conversation, while the whole multitude burst forth into loud cheerings.

An escort of cavalry, the civil and military authorities, and a great number of citizens, escorted him to the Navy Yard at Charleston, on the 27th. Here he was received by Commodore Bainbridge; and

after inspecting the works, he ascended Bunker Hill. "His pathway was hung with banners, adorned with triumphal arches, and everywhere thronged with beauty. All the surrounding heights were crowded with multitudes of delighted spectators. The scene near the monument, where he was received, upon the spot where Warren fell, and consecrated by the blood of our countrymen as well as by the heroic achievements of a day among the most memorable in our annals, may be ranked as one of the most interesting since his landing upon our shores. His feelings appeared to be riveted to the sacred mount, and to be torn from its holy associations with reluctance. A collation in soldier-like style was provided upon the hill." The other prominent incidents of Lafayette's stay in Boston were a grand ball, a visit to the venerable John Quincy Adams, then eighty-nine years of age and almost helpless, and a brilliant review of the troops on the 30th.

Invited to visit the Portsmouth Navy Yard, Lafayette started for that place on the 31st, and was enthusiastically received at Lynn, Marblehead, Salem, Newburyport, and all the towns along the road. "He entered Portsmouth about noon, amidst hearty welcomes and rapturous acclamations of the hardy sons of New Hampshire, salutes of artillery, and ringing of bells. The margin of the avenue to the town was lined with children wearing the Lafayette portrait, and with ladies behind them, presenting a very pleasing and interesting spectacle. The streets were arched with festoons, wreaths, and garlands, and crowded with an applauding multitude." In the evening, the General attended a brilliant ball; from which, at half-past eleven, he set forth on his return to Boston, by way of Lexington, Concord, Hartford, etc. At Lexington he was met by a troop of horse and a cavalcade of citizens, who escorted him into that memorable town, where a beautiful arch of evergreens and flowers, with the motto: "*Welcome, Friend of America, to the Birthplace of American Liberty!*" had been raised in his honor; and near the monument was the touching sight of fourteen of the seventy minute men who composed the company on which the British troops fired in 1775.

At Hartford, the General received, under the arch erected in front of the State House, a marching salute of the city troops, and was introduced to military officers and such others as the short time permitted. About thirty surviving heroes of the Revolution had a place assigned them in the line of troops, and they marched to the music of a drummer and fifer of their own. "It was really an affecting sight to see these

old and few surviving veterans of the Revolution marching along after the same music and musicians they had heard nearly half a century ago, and each, as they passed, clasping the extended hand of their old General, and many of them pronouncing a blessing upon him. Lafayette appeared much affected." The distinguished guest was not allowed to leave Hartford without visiting the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, where the fifty or sixty pupils were drawn up in two ranks, and as Lafayette passed between them, all simultaneously made the sign of gratitude, and pressing their hands to their hearts, displayed the appropriate words: "What the nation *speaks* we *feel*!" While in the city, the General was presented with the epaulettes which he wore as Major-General in the American army; and also with the sash worn by him at the battle of Brandywine, spotted with the blood from the wound received by him on that memorable occasion.

From Hartford he returned to New York by the way of the Connecticut river and Long Island Sound. Here, on his 67th birthday, September 6th, a grand dinner was given to him by the Order of the Cincinnati; and among the toasts was one "To the memory of General Alexander Hamilton." On drinking this, Lafayette rose, and bowing to Colonel Hamilton (James A.), said with a tremulous voice, "My friend and associate, your father!" Among the numerous entertainments of the time was an absurd representation at the Park Theatre called "The Siege of Yorktown," intended as a delicate attention. A critic, however, writes of the performance: "The frequent and direct reference to the distinguished guest, which could not but embarrass him, as each was followed by the loud shouts of the audience which filled the house from pit to gallery, was one of the faults; another was an attempt to personate General Washington, a project so utterly impossible as almost to destroy the whole effect. Foote, by the way, did as well as the author would allow; but when he stood between the French and American armies, after the surrender of Cornwallis, and called for a song and a dance, the scene was entirely out of character and quite ludicrous."

At the ball at Castle Garden, on the 14th of September, New York was in its glory; and the Battery was a fairy scene, with the houses in the vicinity brilliantly illuminated, and lights dancing in every direction upon the waters of the Bay. At the entrance of the bridge from the Battery to the Castle, stood a pyramid of lamps fifty feet high surmounted by a large star of the most dazzling lustre, intended to be emblematic of the glory of Lafayette. The passage itself

was richly carpeted and covered with an awning, while on each side was a bordering of evergreen trees. The lofty arch over the principal entrance was adorned with wreaths and festoons, and lighted by hundreds of lamps, while a colossal statue of Washington, resting upon two pieces of cannon, rose from the centre. The ball-room was a vast amphitheatre, six hundred feet in circumference, with galleries rising one above another to the extreme part of the battlement, and flights of steps leading to them. An eye witness of the scene requests the reader to "imagine a canopy extending over the whole area, the apex of which was seventy feet from the floor, woven of festoons and flags of all colors and descriptions, entirely concealing the triple folds of canvas forming the awning; let him imagine this spacious arch supported by a massive column in the centre, entwined with spiral wreaths of laurel, half concealing the names of Revolutionary patriots, and arms extending from this central pillar hung with thirteen chandeliers blazing with almost painful lustre; let him imagine around the galleries, and rising to support the canopy, thirteen other transparent pillars of huge dimensions, glowing with every hue, their bases surrounded with the arms of the different States, their capitals with those of the nation, and each of them ornamented with a canopy; let him imagine the whole roof and every part of the spacious area hung with chandeliers and lamps, giving an indescribable brilliancy to the decorations of the room; let him imagine six hundred ladies and gentlemen in full dress, dancing, promenading, and moving in all directions to the music of two numerous orchestras in the gallery over the entrance; let him, if he can, combine into one view these splendid images, and he may form some faint idea of the *coup d'œil* of this spectacle." The authority quoted goes on to explain that the ornamentation of the building was allegorical: the central pillar being designed to represent the centre of the Union; and the thirteen transparent pillars, as well as the thirteen chandeliers, were emblematic of the thirteen original States with which the services of Lafayette were associated. The names of these States were hung in festoons at the summits of the respective columns. The bust of Washington over the entrance was designed to represent him as the presiding spirit of the *fête* given to his illustrious friend and associate in arms. On one end of the gallery in front was the word, "MONMOUTH," and on the other, "YORK-TOWN," in ornamental capitals; in the centre, a large allegorical representation of the genius of America, attended by the eagle, and bearing the inscription: "*Gratitude To The Faithful Patriot.*" A pavilion lined with blue silk and superbly ornamented, had been provided

for the guest of the evening opposite the entrance. A bust of Hamilton, wreathed in laurel, and several portraits of Revolutionary heroes and statesmen, were among the decorations. The interior was handsomely carpeted, and furnished with sofas for the accommodation of the General and his suite; and upon taking his seat in the pavilion, the allegorical painting in the front gallery was raised and disclosed a fine transparency of his residence, La Grange, in France. Beneath the picture were the words in capitals, "HIS HOME." "Lafayette," says his secretary, "was very much touched with this delicate idea of his friends, who wished to give to their entertainment, by the presence of this picture, the character of a family festival."

At two o'clock in the morning, Lafayette took his departure from the brilliant scene at Castle Garden, to which the moonlight that fell on the waters of the Bay, displaying boats of all descriptions, filled with eager crowds watching for a glimpse of the hero, lent an additional charm, and embarked on a tour up the Hudson, stopping at West Point, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Albany, &c., large delegations from these places accompanying him:

At Albany, he was conducted to the Senate Chamber of the Capitol, and received and addressed by the Mayor, who eloquently expressed the gratitude of the United States, and especially of the city of Albany. Lafayette, in his reply, said: "It is not a half century since the town, then ancient it is true, but still very small, served me for headquarters upon the frontier of a vast wilderness. I received here, as commandant of the Northern Department, the renunciation of the royal power, and the acknowledgment of the more legitimate sovereignty of the people of the United States."

At Troy he was invited by the ladies of the city to a reception at Mrs. Willard's boarding-school; and we are told that "he accepted the invitation with eagerness." The avenues to the establishment were adorned with green branches and flowers, leading to a triumphal arch, beneath which he was received by a committee of ladies with a complimentary address, followed by music and singing, in which the whole school joined.

Sixty-eight veterans of the Revolution, who had collected from different parts of the country, formed part of the procession at Hudson, and it happened that a number of them had served under Lafayette. "Every one had something to say when they grasped his kindly hand, and each seemed reluctant to release it." One of them carried a sword which, he said, was given him by the "Marquis;" and added, with a

tear glistening in his eye, "you, sir, gave me the first guinea I ever had in my life—I shall never forget that."

He left New York for New Jersey on the 22d of September. At Trenton he visited Joseph Bonaparte, who kindly allowed his elegant rooms to be thrown open to the public on this occasion. The visit was a delightful one on both sides, but all too short, as the General had little time to spare from his engagement in Philadelphia, where grand preparations had been made for his reception. On his arrival at that place, the city troops, under Major-General Cadwallader, were assembled for review; and, "as the General moved from the ground, the air was rent by the acclamations of the people. The concourse from the city to the parade ground was immense; thousands upon thousands were on foot, and the roads and streets were almost blocked up with carriages of every description."

In the procession that accompanied him to Independence Hall, were a hundred and fifty Revolutionary heroes, drawn in three immense cars, each with four horses attached, the horses trimmed with white and red, and the cars decorated with evergreens, flags, and emblematical inscriptions. Each soldier wore the revolutionary cockade. On one side of the first car were the words, in large gold letters, "*Defenders of our Country*;" on the other, "The Survivors of 1776;" in the front, the name of "Washington;" in the rear, that of "Lafayette." At Fourth street, in the Northern Liberties, was a magnificent arch, under which the procession passed, reaching across the street, and supported by two smaller arches across the sidewalks. Over the central arch were thirteen large and brilliant stars, representing the thirteen original States; and the inscription read: "*A Nation's Thanks to Freedom's Friend*." There were other arches at various points, and the entire journey to Independence Hall was a perfect ovation. This venerable building had, alas! been fitted up in the most splendid manner, and bristled with the horrors of fresh mahogany and modern decorations, while the articles of furniture that gave it its peculiar character, had been carefully removed, as not fine enough for the illustrious guest.

The Mayor and Lafayette, after verbal salutations, "affectionately embraced," and the latter was then introduced, as far as possible, to the large number of people present. "No part of this highly interesting ceremony was so affecting as the introduction of some of the members of the Cincinnati; sometimes, when the name was mentioned, we could hear, 'Oh, my dear companion!' and mark a peculiar cordiality in the

grasp of the hand. One gentleman, in a broad brimmed hat and plain clothes, who had been a colonel of artillery at the battle of Trenton, took the General more than once in his arms and burst into tears." A banquet was given by the City Corporation, at Washington Hall; and among the toasts was one to "*Greece Regenerated*"—wishing her a Washington for a leader, and a Lafayette for a friend. The city was illuminated at night, and all the inhabitants appeared to be walking about. During the eight days which Lafayette passed in Philadelphia, he received in Independence Hall the addresses of various deputations; and among others, the clergy of the city, led by the venerable Bishop White. Among the entertainments crowded into this short space, were a masonic dinner, a civic ball, and a military *fête* at General Cadwallader's, at which about four hundred officers were present. A visit to the Navy Yard was of course in order; and here, the guest was received in the commandant's drawing-room by a numerous assemblage of ladies and officers. In the avenue leading to the Navy Yard, "the General passed under a triumphal arch of classic construction, surrounded by a completely-equipped ship in miniature, bearing the French flag. She was intended to represent '*La Bonne Mere*,' the vessel which first bore our beloved guest to the shores of his adopted country. On the head of the triumphal arch was inscribed the young hero's magnanimous declaration to our Commissioners in Paris, when with grief they informed him that such was the exhausted state of their funds, and their total want of credit, that they could not provide him the means of conveyance across the Atlantic. '*Then*,' said he, '*I will purchase and equip a vessel myself*.'"

Lafayette had now entered on his Southern and Western tour, and he proceeded from Philadelphia to Baltimore, passing one night at Chester, where he arrived on the 5th of October. It was eleven o'clock P. M., and the town was brilliantly illuminated. The hall in which the General was received and addressed, was the very place where the wound he received at the battle of Brandywine was first dressed; and, the orator appointed to welcome the visitor, in the name of the inhabitants of Chester, recalled in a very affecting manner the circumstance that, "before dismounting, he still had the strength and presence of mind to rally a party of troops who were flying in disorder, and placed them at the entrance of the bridge to check the enemy, if he had conceived the thought of following up his first success."

At Baltimore, the General was received at Fort McHenry, in the tent used by Washington during the Revolution, and contributed to

the joyful occasion by Mr. Custis. A grand triumphal arch had been erected in the city, and young ladies dressed in white, to represent the States of the Union, received the hero beneath it, with appropriate addresses and songs. Five days were given to the city of monuments, and this time was so skilfully divided that nearly all the invitations received were accepted. A magnificent ball was included in the list, and deputations were daily received from various Southern cities requesting a visit. Baltimore relinquished her guest most unwillingly, and gave him a triumphal departure.

At Washington, Lafayette was received by President Monroe, the Secretaries of the Cabinet, and officers of the Army and Navy. The President, in welcoming him to the Capital, expressed his desire to entertain the General as his own personal guest, but waived this pleasure in behalf of the Nation's right, and requested him to spend as much time at the White House as this claim would allow. A State banquet finished the day, and Lafayette was then conducted with much enthusiasm to the quarters prepared for him.

A visit to the grave of Washington was made at an early day, and this has long been the subject of a popular print. Lafayette's secretary gives his impressions of the scene: "Simple and modest as he was during life, the tomb of the citizen-hero is scarcely perceived amid the sombre cypresses by which it is surrounded; a vault, slightly elevated and sodded over—a wooden door without inscriptions—some withered and some green garlands, indicate to the traveller who visits this spot, the place where rests in peace the puissant arms which broke the chains of his country. As we approached, the door was opened; Lafayette descended alone into the vault, and a few minutes after reappeared with his eyes overflowing with tears. He took his son and me by the hand and led us into the tomb, where by a sign he indicated the coffin of his paternal friend, alongside of which was that of his companion in life, united to him forever in the grave. We knelt reverentially near his coffin, which we respectfully saluted with our lips; rising, we threw ourselves into the arms of Lafayette, and mingled our tears with his."

The Virginia militia had invited Lafayette to be present at the 44th anniversary of the capture of Yorktown, and to this most interesting point he next repaired, and was established in the house where Cornwallis had his quarters nearly half a century before. When the cellar was examined, with a view to the convenient storage of provisions, some servants came upon a large chest in an obscure corner, and upon open-

ing it, it was found to be filled with candles that were blackened by time. An inscription on the lid showed that they were a portion of Cornwallis's stores during the siege. "Shortly after, all the candles were removed, lighted, and arranged in a circle in the centre of the camp, where the ladies and soldiers danced during the evening. A ball in Yorktown, in 1825, by the light of Cornwallis's candles, appeared so pleasant an occurrence to our old Revolutionary soldiers that, notwithstanding their great age and the fatigues of the day, most of them were unwilling to retire until the candles were entirely consumed."

Williamsburgh, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Richmond, were on the way to Petersburg, where it is said that "the twenty-four hours passed by General Lafayette were signalized by a great variety of pleasures." The welcome here was quite out of the common way, for the people thronged in great glee, as he passed through the streets of their substantial-looking town, to thank him for burning it down in 1781!—a measure which was taken to dislodge the British. "At that time," said they, "we had none but miserable wooden houses to receive you in, and now they are large, well-built brick buildings, in which we can offer you all the comforts of life."

Lafayette returned to Richmond to set out for Monticello, and was conducted by Jefferson to the University of Virginia. Here, a rattlesnake, from which the fangs had been extracted, was seen disporting itself on the floor of a small hall, the interesting reptile being intended as a present to George Washington Lafayette, who had expressed a desire for one.

At Charleston, where the General spent three happy days, he was delighted with the brilliancy and refinement of the entertainment; "but of all the delicate attentions that were paid him, the most touching, perhaps, was the gift made him by the city of a beautiful portrait of his friend, Colonel Huger." It was said to be a perfect likeness, admirably executed. It was done by a Charleston artist of great reputation, who was thought to have "surpassed himself in this work;" and as the miniature of a friend, then dead, at whose hospitable house the young Marquis passed the first days of his first sojourn in America, it was doubly valuable. The son now had the pleasure of entertaining the veteran who had been his father's companion in arms, and Lafayette's stay in Charleston was thoroughly enjoyed in every sense.

On the 21st of March, 1826, the Nation's guest is in Savannah, laying

the corner stone of the monuments to Generals Greene and Pulaski; and at New Orleans, he has the inevitable public ball, and the usual accompaniments of deputations, and a Masonic dinner.

At the latter place, Lafayette received such clamorous invitations to visit the French and the American theatre on the same evening, that he concluded to decide the matter by lot; and fate was in favor of the American, where the performances were as absurd as at the "Siege of Yorktown" in New York. After an enthusiastic welcome, "they gave," says one of the party, "an appropriate piece, of which neither he nor the audience could appreciate the merit, as every eye was attracted to the hero of Yorktown, who completely withdrew all attention from the representation of the Prisoner of Olmutz." He afterwards went to the French theatre, where the repeated cries of "*Vive Lafayette!*" completely suspended the performance. The crowd rose to him, and it was some time before order could be restored.

Among the hero's adventures in the United States was a shipwreck on the Ohio River, while on his way from Nashville to Louisville; but Lafayette apparently preserved his equanimity much better than the captain, who, poor man, was "very much depressed, not from the loss of the vessel, nor that of \$1,200 he had on board, or even from any fear of not finding employment—his grief arose from having shipwrecked the guest of the nation. 'Never,' said he, 'will my fellow-citizens pardon me for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night.'" To comfort him, the whole party drew up and signed a declaration, to the effect that Captain Hall had done all that skill and prudence could do to avert the catastrophe, and that his courage and disinterestedness had been manifest from the first.

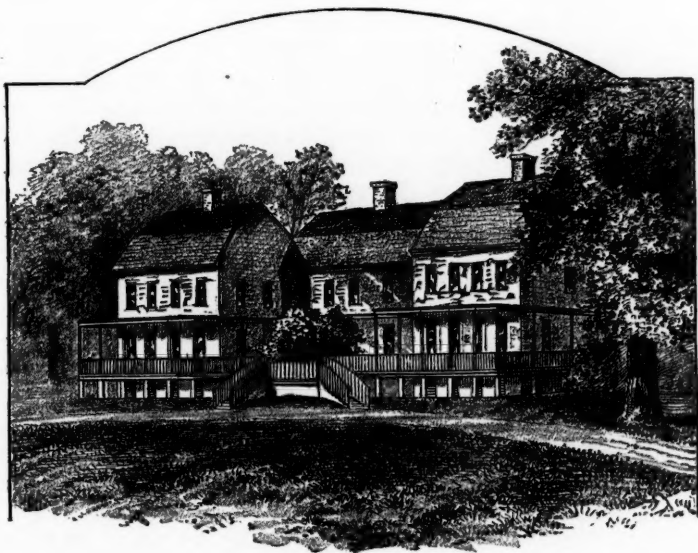
The General conscientiously visited every place in the United States where it seemed possible for him to go; and after a tour among the Southwestern cities and towns, he took his way from Cincinnati to Braddock's Field, Lake Erie to Niagara, Western and Central New York to Albany a second time; again to Boston for the fiftieth anniversary of Bunker Hill, then to Maine, thence to New York for the *fourth* time, and finally, to Washington, whence he sailed on his homeward voyage on the 7th of December, 1826.

"The Mount Vernon" carried him from Washington to the frigate "Brandywine," which waited for him at the mouth of the Potomac, and conveyed him safely to his native land, followed by the heartfelt regrets of the nation that had so enthusiastically received him as its guest more than a year before, and to whom he had endeared himself

all the more by his undisguised pleasure in his reception and his warm sympathy of manner.

Again, is the natural illumination recorded, that spanned the heavens on his arrival; and the Brandywine entered the Chesapeake on the 8th of December, "under full sail, traversing the centre of a brilliant rainbow, one of whose limbs appeared to rest on the Maryland shore, and the other on that of Virginia. Thus the same sign that appeared in the heavens on the day on which Lafayette landed on the American soil, appeared when he left it, as if Nature had reserved to herself the erection of the first and the last of the numerous triumphal arches dedicated to him during his extraordinary journey."

ELLA RODMAN CHURCH



THE TOMPKINS HOUSE, STATEN ISLAND

LAFAYETTE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN

1781

The military relations of Virginia to the whole theatre of war, during the struggle for American Independence, have rarely received due attention. A single statement will so define those relations, that the operations of General Lafayette, after he assumed command in that department, in May, 1781, will have fresh interest, and take their right place as determining factors in the capture of the army of Earl Cornwallis.

The British cabinet had a keener perception of the military methods which were necessary to subjugate the colonies than most of the officers successively in command. They rightly assumed, that from New York, as a base, the British army might isolate New England from the center; and that by operations in Chesapeake Bay, they would, in like manner, separate the south. The success of this strategy would make it impossible for New England, or the South, to aid the center or receive aid from it. As early as 1775 Lord Dartmouth announced this policy, and Lord Germain repeatedly urged it. The ultimate movement of Burgoyne from Canada, and the occupation of Newport, R. I., were parts in the development of the first movement; while the early occupation of Norfolk, and repeated demonstrations in Virginia, harmonized with the second element of anticipated success. The blow at Philadelphia, in the center, was to crown the others with restored British supremacy.

The persistency with which Washington held New Jersey, and by impregnable camps kept his army in hand, alike enabled him to support New England, command the Hudson, threaten New York, and maintain communications with Philadelphia and the South. By this strategy he was enabled, eventually, to defeat all British combinations and insure the redemption of Virginia.

After the battle of Monmouth, when British operations were chiefly limited to the Southern Department, and the garrison of New York was put on the defensive, the full importance of the conquest of Virginia became more clearly defined. While Lord Germain realized all this, Sir Henry Clinton had confidence in the ability of Cornwallis, Rawdon and Stewart to overrun the Carolinas and Georgia, to subjugate those sections in detail, without regard to their relations to the center; and

obstinately insisted, that the southern people would return to their allegiance, if these generals were successful against the small American commands then in the field. He also retained his purpose again to capture Philadelphia, repeating the error of Howe, who held, regardless of Washington's movements, that "to hold the capital was to insure ultimate success." The faith of Clinton in the acquisition of Pennsylvania, rather than of Virginia, rested on an opinion similar to that which Charles Lee gave to General and Admiral Howe, that, "in Pennsylvania, and on both sides of the Susquehanna, and between the Delaware and Chesapeake, the friends of the King were believed to be numerous, while Virginia had been looked upon as universally hostile."

There was one British officer who thoroughly believed in the strategic policy which Lord Dartmouth and Lord Germain so persistently maintained. The battle of Guilford Court House had been fought, and Earl Cornwallis retired to Wilmington. He had the nerve to let Greene pass him to the south, and the wisdom to ignore his movements. His own force had not been reinforced from the colonists, neither could he command their sympathy. They rose in his rear and on his flanks, as soon as his army passed, and in the contingency of a victory by Greene over Rawdon, he thus stated his own probable condition: "He, Greene, will have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry and every horse in the army." He, therefore, marched directly for Virginia, sending couriers to General Phillips to meet him at Petersburg, "most firmly persuaded that until Virginia was reduced, the more southern provinces could not be held, but that after its reduction they would fall without much difficulty."

On the 10th of April he wrote to General Clinton, "I cannot help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeake may become the seat of war, even (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York. Until Virginia is in a measure subdued, our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious." He enforced his views thus practically. The rivers of Virginia are advantageous to an invading army; but North Carolina is, of all the provinces in North America, the most difficult to attack (unless material assistance could be got from the inhabitants, the contrary of which I have sufficiently experienced) on account of its great extent, of the numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of interior navigation." On the 18th of April, in a letter to Lord Germain, he signified his appreciation of the strength of Virginia and the necessity of making it the first and chief objective of the war at the

South. He writes, "The great reinforcements sent by Virginia to General Greene whilst General Arnold was in the Chesapeake, are convincing proofs that small expeditions do not frighten that powerful province." While General Clinton opposed the conduct of the war at the South on the theory thus advanced, Lord Germain as persistently supported Cornwallis, and at last very graciously advised General Clinton "to avail himself of leave to come home if there was not full confidence between the generals and the minister."

It was with such impressions of the gravity of the crisis that Earl Cornwallis resolved to conquer the South, by the conquest of Virginia, and thus restore to British supremacy the left or southern zone in the general theatre of war. On the 25th of April, 1787, Lee left Wilmington and reached Petersburg on the 20th of May. General Phillips, who had been ordered to report to and act with him, had gained the designated rendezvous in advance, but his death, on the 13th had left his division to Arnold. That officer promptly assumed command and opened a correspondence with Lafayette, then in Virginia. Lafayette resented the presumption, and declined to respond, although Arnold threatened severe measures with the prisoners in his hands. In a letter of May 31st, Washington, then advised of his action, thus wrote, "Your conduct upon every occasion meets my approbation; but in none more than in your refusing to correspond with Arnold."

Lafayette had already courted a conflict with the gallant Earl. As soon as the expedition to Portsmouth failed, he proposed "to take the fast vessels of the French fleet, and go by sea to Wilmington and take Cornwallis in the rear or in the neighborhood of General Greene." The arrival of General Phillips, with reinforcements to the British army in Virginia, rendered such a movement impracticable. Upon advices, late in April, that Phillips had begun offensive operations and burned Chesterfield C. H., and that Arnold had destroyed property only thirteen miles below Richmond, Lafayette made a forced march from Baltimore, reaching Richmond on the 29th of April, just in time to witness the destruction of warehouses at Manchester, on the opposite bank of the James, but without transportation for an attempt to punish the marauders.

It is worthy of notice in connection with this state of affairs, and the opinion of Cornwallis already cited, that, as early as March 18th, in anticipation of Lafayette's detail to a southern command, General Greene wrote, "Could the Marquis join us at that moment, we should have a most glorious campaign. It would put Lord Cornwallis and his whole army into our hands."

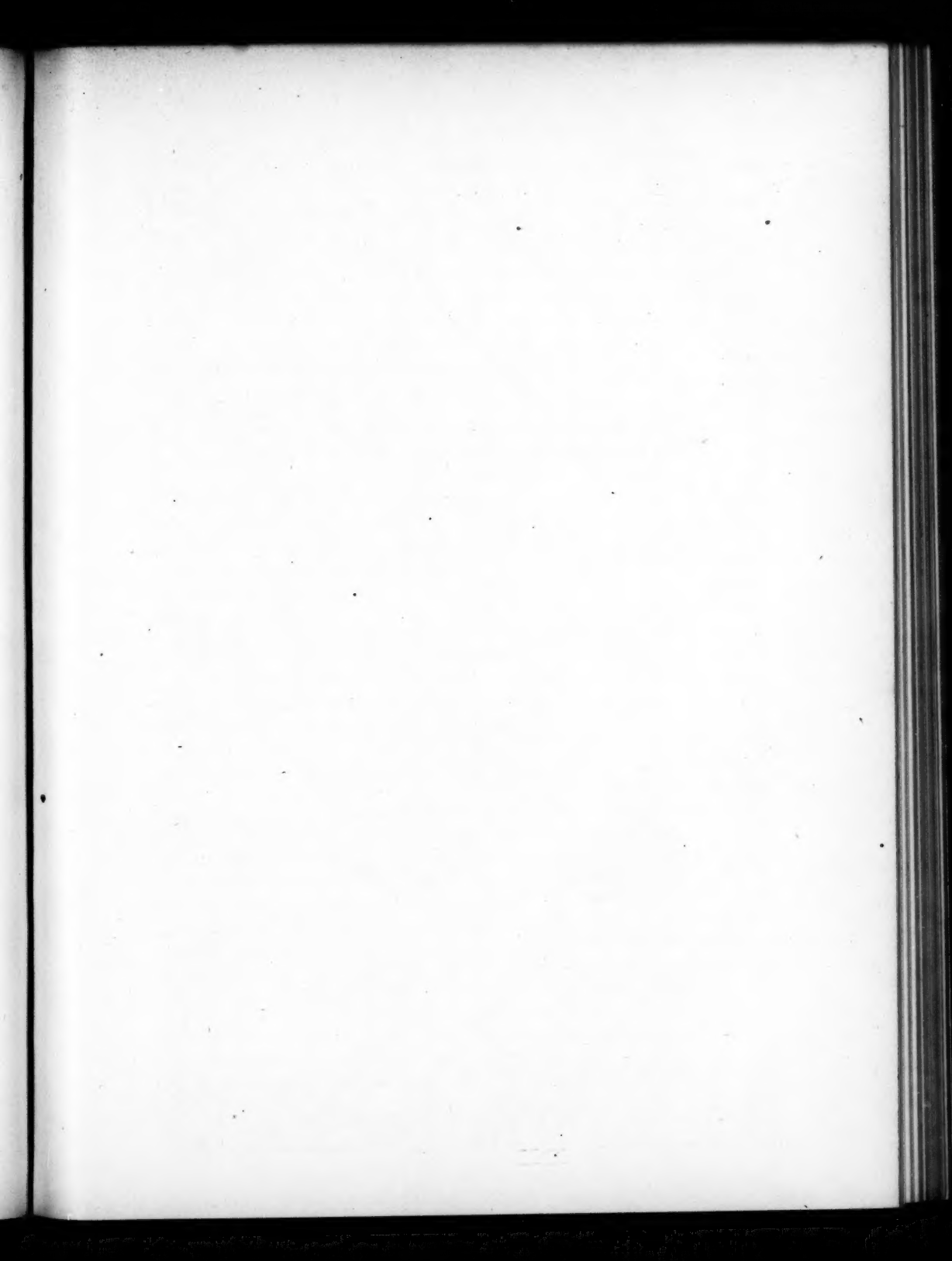
Of that forced march of two hundred miles, Lafayette thus wrote, "I left everything that would impede our march." "Leaving the artillery behind might seem a strange whim, but it saved Richmond." His force was less than one thousand men, and few of these were mounted. On the 8th of May he wrote: "There is no fighting here, unless you have a naval superiority, or an army mounted on race horses. Phillips' plan against Richmond has been defeated. Now it appears I have business to transact with two armies, which is rather too much. Each is more than double the superior of me. We have no boats, few militia and less arms. I will try to do for the best." As soon as Lafayette was advised of the march of Cornwallis northward, he resolved to intercept him, if reinforced in time, and prevent the junction of his column with that of Phillips. But the latter officer took post at Brandon, on the river, with ample water transportation, and the hazard of the enterprise was too great for the force in hand. Washington had started eight hundred good troops under Wayne, to his support, and Baron Steuben was hurrying forward recruits and general supplies; but in view of the urgent demand of Greene for troops at the South, Lafayette resolved to permit Wayne to join Greene, so that operations in Virginia might not detract from Greene's ability to advance against Rawdon. He rightly judged, that "Whenever Greene should become equal to offensive operations, it would relieve Virginia." He wrote to Wayne to hasten his march, but "unless very hard pressed" he would operate without his aid. He wrote to Washington that "he was marching, perhaps to get beaten by both British armies, or each of them separately; but if he must, it would be with as much loss to them as he could possibly inflict; but he would avoid a general engagement as long as possible." To this Washington replied: "Your determination to an engagement is certainly judicious. I hope the Pennsylvanians have begun their march before this. General Wayne has been pressed by Congress and the Board of War to make as much expedition as possible, and extraordinary powers are given him to enable him to procure provisions."

On the 9th of May Lafayette was at Wilton, ten miles below Richmond. The daily demands upon his force exacted the most constant attention, in order not to be overwhelmed by superior numbers, and still hold a position which would enable him to co-operate with Greene. In order to meet a call upon him for ammunition, he was obliged to send Gen. Muhlenberg with an escort of five hundred men to escort it beyond the Appomattox. "Their place was supplied by Col. Gimat's battalion and four guns, to prevent discovery of the absence of so large

a detachment." The orders of Lafayette are found to have been made with careful regard to the details of his own command, and at the same time with view to the plan of the general southern campaign.

On the 18th of May he was ordered by Greene to assume command in Virginia, but to "send all reports directly to the commander-in-chief." He describes his position as "between the Pamunky and Chickahominy rivers, which equally covered Richmond and other interesting points of the State." He also sent General Nelson with militia toward Williamsburg, having previously established a line of expresses which kept him advised of British movements as far as Petersburg. On the 23d of May he thus advised Colonel Hamilton of his situation: "Both armies (Phillips and Cornwallis) have formed their junction. Their infantry is nearly five to one, their cavalry ten to one. We have no Continentals. Is it not strange that General Wayne's detachment cannot be heard of; They are to go to Carolina, but should I have them for a few days, I am at liberty to keep them. This permission I will improve so far as to receive one blow that I may be beaten with some decency." In full recognition of the gravity of affairs, the responsibility of his position and his own enthusiastic spirit, he continues: "The command of the waters, the superiority in cavalry and the great disproportion of our force, give the enemy such advantages that I durst not venture out and listen to my fondness for enterprise. To speak the truth, I was afraid of myself as much as of the enemy. Independence has rendered me the more cautious; but if the Pennsylvanians come, Lord Cornwallis shall pay something for his victory."

On the 25th of May, General Leslie joined Cornwallis with two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight men, and the latter wrote to Clinton that "he should proceed to dislodge Lafayette from Richmond." Cornwallis had already learned that the temper of the southern people was irritated by the wholesale destruction of private property, which marked minor operations in Virginia, and upon giving Arnold leave of absence to report to General Clinton at New York, he made him bearer of a letter which contained the following appeal: "He" (Arnold) "will represent the horrid enormities which are committed by our privateers in Chesapeake Bay, and I must join my earnest wish that some remedy may be applied to an evil which is so very prejudicial to his majesty's service." It appears from letters of Clinton to Phillips, opened after his death, that the former officer wrote early as March 24th to have Arnold sent to New York "if 'Phillips' did not have particular occasion for his services." With the departure of Arnold soon after the arrival of Cornwallis, the army took the offensive.





The struggle between the young French officer, not yet twenty-four years of age, and the English soldier, then forty-three years old, was fully inaugurated. The British army with Leslie's column exhibited on its muster roll a force of seven thousand veteran troops, while that of Lafayette, with all additions received during May, was less than three thousand, with hardly one hundred reliable cavalry. Until the arrival of Wayne Lafayette had few with whom he could advise, and yet he fully understood that the campaign had for its desirable and possible objective the final overthrow of Cornwallis. As if imbued with the spirit and wisdom of his commander-in-chief, he shaped all movements with view to harass his foe, avoid unequal battles and wear him out, until a hand to hand conflict should be within the means at his disposal. It was just at this time that the British scouts captured one of his patriots with letters addressed by him to Governor Jefferson, Generals Greene, Steuben and others. One to Jefferson exhorted him "to turn out the militia," asserting, with strong faith, that "The British success in Virginia resembled the recent French invasion and possession of Hanover, and was likely to have similar consequences, if the government and the country would exert themselves at the present juncture."

Earl Cornwallis entered upon the campaign with the consciousness that Clinton wished him so to limit his operations in Virginia as to make an attack upon Philadelphia practicable. He did not, however, suspend his advance upon Lafayette, but wrote to General Clinton, thus frankly: "In regard to taking possession of Philadelphia by an incursion, even if practicable, without an intention of keeping or burning it (neither of which appears to be practicable) I should apprehend it would do more harm than good to the cause of Great Britain. If offensive war is intended, Virginia appears to me to be the only province in which there is a stake." In view of the suggested detachment of troops from his command, he expresses the "doubt whether a proper army for the attempt can be found, for, to reduce this province (Virginia) and keep possession of the country, a considerable army would be necessary." "With a small force the business would probably terminate unfavorably, though the beginning might be successful." Lord Cornwallis therefore began the campaign, not only knowing that he had all the troops which would be placed at his disposal, but that the withdrawal of a portion by his superior officer was highly probable. He also reaffirmed the opinion which he formed before he left Wilmington, that in Virginia there would be developed the critical issue of the war.

Lafayette began the campaign with a similar opinion of the contest;

but with the belief that ability to keep the field would so revive hope and inspire the people that his army would gain the strength for active operation and decisive victory. He at once removed the most valuable stores from Richmond, crossed the South Anna, then the North Anna (see map) and moved toward the Rapid Anna, to put himself in communication with Wayne and effect the earliest possible junction with his advancing command. His march was made with such deliberation that he was fully advised of his enemy's movements, and harassed his flank with skirmishers. His loss was inconsiderable.

On the 24th of May the General Assembly adjourned to Charlottesville, in anticipation of a British attack upon Richmond. The advance guard of the army of Cornwallis moved May 25th, crossed James River at Westover, and established headquarters at Bird's plantation. The entire army, including infantry, cavalry and artillery, swimming all the horses but the best, completed the passage in less than three days, using boats which Arnold had previously built. On the 27th Cornwallis encamped at White Oak Swamp, with the intention of taking Richmond in the rear; but Lafayette, fully advised by his scouts, had already moved northward, leading the British column more than twenty miles. Cornwallis at once crossed the Chickahominy (see map) passed Hanover Court House, crossed the Pamunky, and then its North Fork, (the North Anna) above New Found Creek, to head off the column of the American commander. But on the 29th that officer still held the lead, crossed the North Anna and was on his march toward Spottsylvania Court House, in the supposed direction of Wayne's approach. Upon striking the fresh trail of the American column Cornwallis sent light troops to threaten its rear and make a show of pursuit. He then moved with his army to the southwest in the direction of Byrd's Creek and James river, where Baron Steuben commanded the American ordnance and supply depot, making this the rendezvous for his entire force. Tarleton was dispatched with a flying column of dragoons, all but seventy-six of them being his own men, to attempt the capture of Governor Jefferson and the General Assembly at Charlottesville. The prisoners made at Saratoga, and previously located at that place, had been removed; but no doubt was entertained of the value of the expedition. The march of Tarleton was at a gallop, "A halt at noon," June 3d, "just long enough to rest men and horses," left time to bring the command to Louisa Court House by eleven at night. Another short halt was made, and at two in the morning the march was resumed at full speed. Before daylight a wagon train with supplies of arms and clothing for

the American southern army was captured and "destroyed, to save time and avoid a detail for their escort." Several captures were made at private mansions, including Colonel John Simms and two brothers of General Nelson. Still, and at full speed, the dragoons charged through the little Rivanna, which runs at the foot of the hill on which Charlottesville is situated. The small resisting force was dispersed. General Scott, a few officers, and seven members of the Assembly became prisoners. A thousand stand of arms with some powder and tobacco were destroyed. Tarleton very dryly said of this exploit that "He imagined that a march of seventy miles in twenty-four hours might perhaps give him the advantages of a surprise," but the expedition was a substantial failure. On that very night he started down the Rivanna toward Point of Rock, to rejoin Cornwallis, and join Col. Simcoe who had previously been sent to reconnoiter the post held by Baron Steuben. General Steuben, although in a position of great natural strength, hastily assumed that the well deployed column of Simcoe was the real advance of the British army, neglected to make a stand, threw his ordnance into the river and avoided battle. The army of Cornwallis, again united, moved eastward toward Richmond.

Meanwhile Lafayette had not been idle, nor unadvised of these movements, which were wearing out his adversary by hard marching, and not impairing his own effective command. On the 4th of June he crossed the Rapid Anna, found that Wayne had not passed southward, recrossed the river higher up at Raccoon Ford on the 6th, was joined by Wayne on the 7th, passed near Orange Court House on the 10th to gain intelligence as to the demonstration against Charlottesville, and on the 12th turned eastward, in a line parallel with the return march of Cornwallis. Already the pursuer had become the pursued. On the 13th his scouts captured the dispatch of Tarleton to Cornwallis reporting his operations at Charlottesville. This was at once published that the people might be warned as to the depredations they might expect by the tolerance of British troops in Virginia. It is an interesting fact that at the time Wayne joined Lafayette, General Clinton was engaged in writing to Cornwallis the information that "the Pennsylvanians, under Wayne, had revolted."

On the 18th Tarleton made a forced march to cut off General Muhlenberg's command; but Wayne went to the rescue, and Tarleton returned without prisoners, plunder or laurels. On the 19th Baron Steuben joined Lafayette, and the march was continued with increased vigor. Tarleton thus describes this movement: "The Marquis de

Lafayette, who had previously practised defensive manœuvres with skill and security, being now reinforced by General Wayne and about eight hundred continentals and some detachments of militia, followed the British as they proceeded down James river. This design," says Tarleton, "being arranged and executed with extreme caution, allowed opportunity for the junction of Baron Steuben, confined the small detachments of the king's troops, and both saved the property and raised the drooping spirits of the Virginians." In view of the small force of light horse at Lafayette's command, his comprehension of the British movements was soldierly. His little body of scouts was kept by night and day on the British flank. No straggler or small party was safe. Such became the aggressiveness of the American skirmishers, that the seventy-sixth British foot was mounted to assist the Queen's Rangers in protecting the rear and flank of the retiring army of Cornwallis.

Already Lafayette began to reap the benefit of his original policy, and the daily arrivals of militia encouraged his march. It was his purpose to pass Richmond, and thus gain a position between Cornwallis and his base of supplies; but on the 20th that officer abandoned Richmond, crossed at Bottom Bridge and moved by New Kent Court House directly for Williamsburg. The direction taken by Cornwallis, via New Kent Court House, was so closely watched by Lafayette that he took an interior shorter line toward Williamsburg. Tarleton, in speaking of this movement says: "At the time the royal army quitted New Kent, the main body of the Americans approached within twelve miles of that place, which circumstance nearly occasioned Earl Cornwallis to counter-march; but, upon reflection, he pursued his design of moving to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth of June." The American army was between the British army and the Chickahominy, the right flank and rear of the latter force being still covered by the Queen's Rangers. So closely was this command pursued, or pressed by Butler, supported by Wayne's continentals, that when within six miles of Williamsburg it became necessary for Cornwallis to move to their rescue. Lafayette says, "The whole British army came out to save Simcoe." Tarleton says, "Before the horses were unbridled, the sound of musketry and cannon announced the commencement of an action at the outpost; and Lord Chewton soon afterwards delivered Earl Cornwallis' orders for the cavalry and mounted infantry to repair with expedition to the army who were already moving to the relief of Lieut. Colonel Simcoe. The loss in this affair was nearly equal, upwards of thirty being killed and wounded on each side."

A reference to the map will show how successfully the campaign had been converted from the defensive to the offensive by Lafayette, and that there was no alternative for Cornwallis but to keep on the coast and abandon the conquest of Virginia. Letters still came from General Clinton suggesting a dash at Philadelphia; but on the last of June Cornwallis was summoned to hold troops in readiness to move to New York, as that city, according to these letters, "was threatened with a siege." Such conflicting instructions embarrassed the British commander, but the field operations in Virginia were practically at an end.

On the 23d of June Lafayette wrote to Washington, "The enemy have been so kind as to retire before us. Twice I gave them a chance of fighting (taking care not to engage them farther than I pleased) but they continued their retrograde movement. Our numbers are I think exaggerated to them, and our seeming boldness confirms the opinion. Our force is almost his, but only one thousand five hundred regulars and fifty dragoons. One little action more particularly marks the retreat of the enemy. From the place where he first began to retire, to Williamsburg, is upwards of one hundred miles. The old arms at the Point of Fork have been taken out of the water. His lordship did us no harm of consequence, but lost an immense part of his former conquest, and did not make any in this State. General Greene only demanded of me to hold my ground in Virginia. I don't know but we shall in our turn become the pursuing army."

On the 4th of July Cornwallis sent the Queen's Rangers across James river and began the removal of heavy baggage preparatory to retreat to Portsmouth and the formal abandonment of the Virginia campaign. He was already on the defensive. His retreat was not fully effected, however, before a more serious engagement took place than had before attended the operations of the two armies. The main body of the British army remained at Jamestown while the effort was made to draw Lafayette into an action upon ground of its own selection, well adapted for defense. He had already advanced to Green Spring and actively menaced the British rear guard. The British main body occupied a position covered by swamps, only approached by narrow causeways, and proper efforts had been made to put its force under cover, and invite attack. The 43d regiment, which began its American service at Bunker Hill, with the 23d, 33d, and 71st, which had long been favorite regiments with Cornwallis, were a part of the command. Lafayette, misinformed of the strength of his opponent, briskly drove in the pickets supporting the advance by his small body of cavalry, the light infantry

and a few small guns. The entire British reserve was brought into action. The American left and then the entire first line gave way under the pressure of a superior force, falling back upon Wayne, who, with fixed bayonets, interposed his veterans, and covered their retreat. When the action became general, Lafayette appeared in person, entering into the thickest of the fight. His horse was shot and his personal gallantry was highly applauded. The courage and firmness of Wayne and the Pennsylvania troops, who proved themselves to be the equals of their best disciplined adversaries, saved the army from more serious loss. The British casualties were seventy-five, and the Americans one hundred and eighteen. Cornwallis crossed the James and Lafayette took post at Malvern Hill to rest his command. Of this action Tarleton says, that "he hired a negro and a dragoon and charged them to feign desertion and give false intelligence, and to represent that the body of the king's troops had crossed James river; and he supposed it most probable that Lafayette acted upon this false intelligence rather than through too great ardor, for it is the only instance of this officer committing himself during a very difficult campaign." With the exception of Baron Steuben's militia, which held the camp, the entire American force was engaged. On the 9th of July Tarleton started from Cobham and spent twenty days in an expedition by Amelia Court House, and Prince Edward Court House to New London, in Bedford County, to destroy supplies. He admits in his journal that a "march of four hundred miles only wore out his horses," and did not divert Lafayette from his plans against Earl Cornwallis. (See map).

On the 4th of August Cornwallis took post at Yorktown. He was joined by Tarleton on the 7th; and by the 22d the whole British force was at that post and Gloucester. On the 8th, satisfied that his position must confine Cornwallis to the peninsula, Lafayette wrote to Washington that "he would avoid being drawn into a false movement," adding as to Cornwallis, "His lordship plays so well that no blunder can be hoped from him to recover a bad step of ours. Should a fleet come in at this moment our affairs would take a very happy turn." On the 13th he sent light troops to the rear of Gloucester and skirmished actively with Tarleton and Simcoe, and also dispatched Wayne across the James to demonstrate toward Portsmouth and cut off the retreat from Cornwallis into North Carolina as well as to be able promptly to co-operate with French troops on the arrival of the fleet. Daily skirmishing took place, and on the 21st, when urging Washington to come in person and take command, he declares that "the British

army must be forced to surrender," thus closing: "I heartily thank you for having ordered me to remain in Virginia. It is to your goodness that I am indebted for the most beautiful prospect which I may ever behold."

On the 30th of August the Count de Grasse arrived. On the 3d of September the Count de St. Simon joined Lafayette with his division of three thousand two hundred men at Green Spring. On the 5th the Allies occupied Williamsburg. At no period of Lafayette's service in America was there so strong an appeal to his enthusiasm as at this juncture. Count de Grasse united with Count de St. Simon in urging an immediate attack upon Yorktown, the latter waiving rank and consenting to serve under Lafayette. Confident of ultimate success, Lafayette however resolved to wait until fully prepared. He thus clearly gives his views in a letter to Washington: "I am not so hasty as the Count de Grasse, and think that, having so sure a game to play, it would be madness by the risk of an attack to give anything to chance. Unless matters are very different from what I think they are, my opinion is that we ought to be contented with preventing the enemy's forages, with militia, without committing our regulars. Whatever the Marquis de St. Simon has been pleased to express to Colonel Gimat respecting his being under me, I shall do nothing without paying that deference which is due to age, talents and experience; but would rather incline to the cautious line of conduct I have of late adopted. I hope you will find we have taken the best precaution to lessen his lordship's escape. I hardly believe he will make the attempt. If he does he must give up ships, artillery, baggage, part of the horses, all the negroes; must be certain to lose the third of his army, and run the greatest risk of losing the whole, without gaining that glory which he may desire from a brilliant defense." The judgment of Lafayette was accepted by the French officers as sound; for on the 8th he wrote to Washington; "We will try, if not dangerous, upon a large scale to form a good idea of the works; but unless I am greatly deceived, there will be madness in attacking them now with our force. Marquis de St. Simon, Count de Grasse and General Du Portail agree with me in opinion; but should Lord Cornwallis come out against such a position as we have, everybody thinks that he cannot but repent it, and should he beat us, he must soon prepare for another battle." The reply of Washington, made on the 15th of August, fully endorsed the wisdom of the policy thus enforced by Lafayette.

General Washington reached Philadelphia on the 30th of August;

the very day of the appearance of Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake. Dispatches received at this place from Lafayette informed him that the British were fortifying Gloucester as well as Yorktown, and indicated the additional precautions which he had taken to prevent the escape of Cornwallis. The sixth of September was the twenty-fourth birthday of Lafayette, and he found time in the midst of public duty to write home to France with full assurance that the entire British army would soon be captured.

On the 14th Washington reached Lafayette's headquarters. On the 19th Cornwallis surrendered.

In this rapid review of an eventful campaign which culminated in the capture of Yorktown and the British army, there is plainly evident a just appreciation by Cornwallis of the task he had undertaken, and the great skill with which he made the best of his force under the limitations imposed upon him by General Clinton. The value to Great Britain, of the conquest of Virginia, was absolute. The force at his disposal was unequal to the duty. Failure was fatal. The die had been cast. Lafayette won.

But what shall be said of his adversary who entered Virginia with less than a thousand men, but so judiciously handled his force that it grew in numbers until it equalled that of Cornwallis; who so well combined the columns of Steuben, Muhlenberg and Wayne, as well as the gathering militia, that he enclosed Cornwallis, ready for capture; and who not only commanded the confidence of Washington and Greene, but in camp, on the march, and in the face of the enemy, so mastered the hot ambition of youth and bent it to the sway of sound judgment, that even the wily Tarleton could not believe that even in the doubtful issue of Jamestown he had yielded to rash impulses, but was for the first time mistaken in the numbers of his foe?

The reports from his own pen, the record of his movements, the confidence of his superiors, the obedience of his subordinates, and the faithfulness of his troops, alike testify of a generalship which enhances our confidence in Washington's choice of an antagonist to Cornwallis, and must ever endear to the people of the United States the name and memory of Lafayette.

HENRY B. CARRINGTON

LAFAYETTE'S LETTERS FROM PRISON

MAGDEBURG—1793

During his long retirement from public affairs Lafayette, in his retreat at La Grange, set in order the papers which had escaped the vicissitudes of his career. These were published after his death by his family, under the supervision of his son, George Washington Lafayette, (*Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits du General Lafayette publiés par sa famille, Société Belge de Librairie Bruxelles, 1837-39*). A chapter in the second volume, entitled *Correspondance de prison*, contains a number of letters written by the illustrious prisoner, by Madame de Lafayette, who shared his confinement in its later years, by his companions in captivity, and a few other documents of relative importance. The major part, however, are those written by Lafayette himself. These interesting papers do not appear to have been as yet presented to the public in an English translation.

Nothing that concerns this heroic character, who delighted to call himself an officer of the United States, a son of Washington and the friend of Liberty, can ever be deemed foreign by an American; certainly nothing relating to a confinement which the American nation regarded with the deepest solicitude, and through its Congress, its diplomatic agents and the direct interposition of its first citizens, spared no effort to mitigate, if it could not bring to a close. But the interest of the collection is greatly enhanced to the American reader by the knowledge that there exists in this country a number of letters written by Lafayette from his Magdeburg prison which, with two exceptions, do not seem to have been known to the family at the time of the publication referred to. These, with some others of a later date referring to the same subject, were purchased at Hamburg, some three years since, by Mr. Jeremiah Colburn of Boston, and are in his possession. A translation of those written from prison is now published in chronological order.

A short narrative will recall to the reader the main facts connected with the long and distressing captivity of Lafayette, and some details gathered from the notes to his published memoirs will introduce the dramatis personæ of this delightful piece of individual history. A letter written by Lafayette on the 16th June, 1792, from his camp

at Maubeuge to the National Assembly, denouncing the Jacobins and demanding the dispersion of the clubs and the support of the constitutional monarchy established by the national pact, was the first step in the rapid decline of the popularity of the young general of the National Guard, until then the idol of the people. Hearing a few days later of the insults and danger to which the King was exposed on the 2d June, when the Tuileries were invaded by a riotous mob, he hastened in person to Paris, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and on the 28th June presented himself before the bar of the Assembly to renew his demands. Coldly received by the Assembly, he attempted to secure the aid of the National Guard, an organization he had himself created, intending to take an advantage of a review ordered for the next day, but the King and Queen, whom he sought to save, lured by false hopes and ill-advised, themselves interposed to defeat his intervention, and the review was postponed. His personal efforts to arouse the more patriotic officers of the Guard had but a momentary influence, and on the 30th he returned, sad and dispirited, to his army. A change in the command of the two army corps requiring Lafayette to pass within sixty miles of the royal chateau of Compiègne, he resolved to take advantage of the circumstance to effect the escape of the King from Paris. The vacillating monarch, then master of his actions, had but to go to the chateau, declare his adherence to the constitution and secure the protection of the army. Determined, however, to accept no favor from Lafayette, and relying upon other combinations which it was supposed would result from the intervention of the foreign powers, the Court refused this last chance of safety. The retreat of the French armies from the northern frontier before the Austrian and Prussian forces, and the arrival of the King of Prussia himself at Coblenz with a powerful army, were the natural precursors of a revolution which shook France to the centre, alarmed the Assembly and exasperated the people, who in mingled terror and indignation turned instinctively to the boldest of their leaders. On the 10th of August the Tuileries was stormed, and the royal family sought refuge in the National Assembly. In the tumult of the conflict, and interrupted by the noise of cannon and the crash of balls piercing the windows of the hall, where the Assembly was deliberating, occurred the memorable scene on which the historian loves to dwell. Rising in a body, the members took solemn oath to defend liberty and equality with their lives, proceeded to pronounce the suspension of the King from authority, and assigned the royal family an apartment in the Luxem-

bourg for their residence. Later resolutions made them the hostages of the nation, and on the demand of the Commune their persons were entrusted to its keeping, and the Temple became first their home and then their prison house.

Meanwhile Lafayette had been denounced to the Jacobin Club by Robespierre, and a formal accusation presented against him in the Assembly by Collot d'Herbois. This was set aside by large majority, but the insults offered to those who had voted in his favor, and the destruction of his statue at the Palais Royal, were definitive evidence of his loss of hold upon the popular mind. The news of the revolution of the 10th at Paris reached Lafayette in his entrenched camp at Sedan on the 12th August. With his accustomed decision he made an effort to arrange a meeting of a congress of the departments to redress the old or establish a new order of government. The department of Ardennes, in which his camp lay, adhered to his scheme, and even arrested the Commissioners sent by the Assembly; but the folly of resistance to the rising flood of popular indignation was soon evident. New commissioners arrived, who deprived Lafayette of his command. Aware that the next step would be his arrest, he determined to take refuge in neutral territory. His troops were attached to him, and might have been influenced to resist the authority of the Assembly, but Lafayette was not the man to excite dissensions in the camp when armed enemies were threatening the frontier of the country he loved and the very existence of the liberty he adored. After taking every measure necessary for the order and safety of his army, on the 19th of August he left his camp, and, accompanied by General Latour-Maubourg and his two brothers, General Bureaux de Pusy, his Aide-de-camp, the members of his staff as General of the Paris National Guard, his chief of staff, the patriotic Colonel in charge of the Commissioners of the Assembly, and fifteen officers of different grades, he rode to the frontier.

From Bouillon, which is on the extreme border of France, he sent instructions to the army for their government in case of attack, or until the arrival of Dumouriez; and in order to cover the magistrates of Sedan and others who were compromised in the temporary resistance to the National Assembly, he sent to them an antedated requisition, by which it might appear that they had acted under restraint. Dismissing his escort at Bouillon, he pushed on with his companions to Rochefort, a little village in the Duchy of Luxembourg, occupied by an Austrian post. The demand of the French officers to pass the neutral territory

was refused by the officer in charge, General Moitelle, who commanded at Namur. Instead of granting the permission sought, the general, delighted at the prize which had fallen into his hands, sent dispatches with the information to the French princes, and ordered the transfer of Lafayette and his companions to Namur, where they arrived the next day under a strong escort of hussars. Here they signed a declaration that they were no longer French officers, therefore not to be considered by the allied forces as enemies, and claimed as strangers free passage to the territory of the nearest nation not at war with their own.¹

From Namur the twenty-three prisoners were taken to Nivelles, where they were separated into three grades. Those who had not served in the national guard were released with a warning to leave the country, the other officers, including those who had served as aids to Lafayette during the revolution, were imprisoned in the Citadel of Antwerp, where they were held two months; and the four deputies of the Constituent Assembly were carried to Luxembourg. Here they were separated, and a week later conducted to Wesel by a Prussian detachment. At a council held by a committee of the coalition, which followed the allied army, the Baron de Breteuil, assisting as the ambassador of Louis XVI, it had been agreed that *the existence of Lafayette was incompatible with the safety of the governments of Europe*. For three months the prisoners were kept at Wesel under close surveillance, separated from each other and denied permission to communicate even with their nearest relatives.

From Wesel the four prisoners were taken to Magdeburg, where they were closely confined for more than a year; Lafayette was then transferred to Neisse, and Latour-Maubourg to Glatz, where he was soon followed by Bureaux de Pusy. Alexandre Lameth, more fortunate than either, was first allowed his liberty on parole and finally released. In May, 1794, the three companions were delivered up to the Emperor of Austria and taken to the famous fortress of Olmutz, where they were again separately confined and denied all communication with each other. Here, subjected to every privation and indignity, Lafayette remained until the autumn of 1797; a captivity of five years. His liberty then was a consequence of the triumphs of Bonaparte, and immediately resulted from a demand made by him and General Clarke at the instance of the French Directory to the Austrian Government, in the treaty signed at Leoben in April of that year.

The fate of Madame de Lafayette was scarcely less pitiable. Arrested on the 2d September, 1792, at her residence at Chavanic, by

an order of the Committee of Public Safety of the 10th August she was released and transported to Puy, whence she was permitted to return to her home as a prisoner on parole. Here she remained until the passage of the law of 17th September, 1793, regarding suspected persons (*contre les suspects*), when she was again confined at Brioude, and in June, 1794, transferred to the prison at Paris. Soon after, on the 4th Thermidor (22d July, 1794), her grandmother (the Maréchale de Noailles), her mother (the Duchesse d'Ayen), and her sister (the Vicomtesse de Noailles, perished on the same scaffold. On the 15th Thermidor, after the fall of Robespierre, although the prisoners of state were set at liberty, Madame de Lafayette was retained and only finally freed from prison in the month of February, 1795. Her first step was to send her son, George Washington, to the United States, to the care of Washington; then passing to Hamburg by sea she obtained, through the assistance of Mr. Parish, the American Consul, a passport, under the name of "Madame *Motier*," an American, with which she reached Vienna, and by the aid of the Grand Chamberlain, the Prince de Rosenberg, a friend of her family, obtained, unknown to the Ministers, an audience of the Emperor, who granted her permission to share the captivity of her husband in the castle of Olmutz. In a letter written to her aunt, Madame de Tessé, dated Olmutz, 10th May, 1796, she recites, in a touching narrative and charming style, the incidents of her own success in her project and the story of her husband's captivity, from his departure from France until her arrival. She speaks of his excessive attenuation and broken health. She says of him, that he demands that in no occasion and on no account whatever shall his friends intercede for him, save in a manner becoming his character and his principles, and adds that he pushes what may be called "*la faiblesse d'une grande passion*" to excess. Yet, with a nobility of soul equal to his own, she justifies him in his course, and bears witness to the serenity of his mind, exposed though it was to petty irritations which embitter more feeble characters. Nor was hers cast in less heroic mould. Refused permission for a visit to Vienna to consult physicians on the condition of her health, seriously affected by imprisonment, except on the condition not to return to the prison, she said, with the quiet dignity of the ancien regime, that "she and her children preferred, at any sacrifice of health, to profit by the goodness of his imperial majesty, which permitted them to share the captivity in every respect." Nor were they separated.

It was his old aide-de-camp, Louis Romeuf, who announced to

Lafayette the success of the demand of Bonaparte. The prisoners were set free on the 19th September, 1797, and journeyed to Hamburg by way of Dresden, Leipzig and Halle, everywhere greeted with sympathy by the friends of liberty. At Hamburg they were welcomed by the Consul of the United States on board of the American man-of-war, whence they were conducted by the Austrian officer, who accompanied them, to the residence of Mr. Parish, former Consul of the United States, who engaged, on behalf of Lafayette, that he should leave the town within twelve days. They then visited the Minister of the French Republic, and Lafayette shortly after retired to the little town of Wittmold in Holstein with his wife and two daughters.

Of the three companions of Lafayette, Bureaux de Pusy had been three times President of the Constituent Assembly, and was proscribed for his energetic resistance to the aggressions of the Jacobins. Latour-Maubourg had been from childhood the companion and friend of Lafayette. No higher praise could be given him than that which Lafayette himself pays in a note to his memoirs: "He shared with la Rochefoucauld the glory of the most disinterested sacrifices of an unalterable devotion to the national cause, of a courageous opposition to the aristocracy and Jacobinism; these perhaps are the only two patriots whom envy has never dared to assail." Alexandre de Lameth was the commandant of Mezières and proscribed as one of the friends of Lafayette; He had made the American campaign on the general staff and was at Yorktown with Rochambeau.

The Princess d'Hénin was then living in London. The family of Lafayette has not failed to place on record their affectionate gratitude for the devotion of this admirable friend, who, while he was confined in the Austrian dungeon, and his wife and family languished in the prison of the Terror, was the medium of their correspondence and a consoling angel.

Mr. Archenholz, the author of a work on the Seven Years War, was at this time engaged in editing a newspaper at Hamburg called *La Minerve*. Letters written to him by Lafayette long after his release show how warmly he continued to appreciate his disinterested friendship.

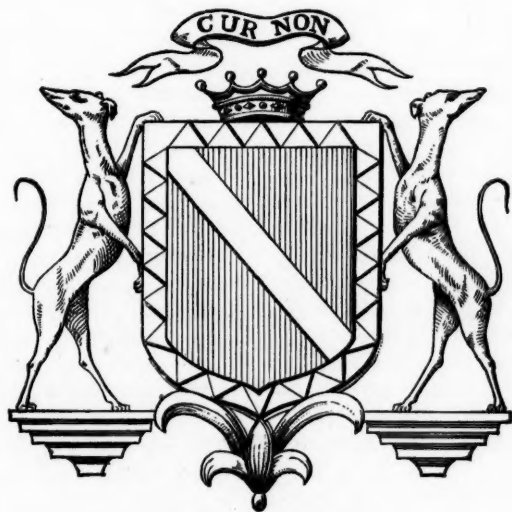
The Hanoverian doctor, whose name is not mentioned in the letters, was the same Erich Bollman who, with Mr. Huger of Charleston, made the well-known unsuccessful attempt to deliver Lafayette from the Olmutz dungeon in November, 1794.

It is impossible to read this correspondence without admiration, not

only for the equanimity of Lafayette, who justly found strength to meet his martyrdom in the thought that he was the personal representative of true liberty, but for that of the companions of his captivity. Together they are examples of the high sentiment of the age of ideas in which they lived; an age in which the individual delighted to subordinate his own personality to the general weal; an age of great achievement and great failure, in which human greatness and human error touched their utmost limits; the age of Washington and Robespierre. Where in the range of authentic history or poetic fancy may higher types of thorough manhood and perfect womanhood be found than those which appear in this simple relation of the physical sufferings, and the moral triumphs of the prisoners of Olmutz?

EDITOR

¹ This paper was signed by Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg, Alexandre Lameth, Laumoy, Duroure, A. Masson, Sicard, Bureaux de Pusy, Victor Latour-Maubourg, Victor Gouvion, Langlois, Sionville, A. Romeuf, Dagrain, L. Romeuf, Curmer, Pillet, La Colombe, V. Romeuf, C. Latour-Maubourg, M. d'Arblay, Soubeyran, Ch. Cadignan.



ARMS OF LAFAYETTE

TRANSLATION

LAFAYETTE'S LETTERS FROM PRISON

MAGDEBURG

1793

From the originals in the possession of Jeremiah Colburn

I

The original is in English.

MAGDEBURG, March the 15th, 1793

Sir:—Having been informed of an American Consul being in Hamborough I will, upon the claim of a fellow citizen, and with the confidence of a friend, entreat your assistance—You know, sir, the preparations, beginning and progress of the French Revolution down to the time when I thought it inconsistent with the rights of the people at large, the sentiments of the majority of their representatives, and the true notions of liberty, to unite with partial acts of violence, and was of course obliged momentarily to seek for a neutral ground. You also have heard of my falling in with an Austrian detachment, whereby I was made a prey to the governing powers on this side of the Rhine. By what principle, profession, and acts, I have from my early youth to this period deserved their animadversion it is my boast to remember, their's to resent—let it suffice to say that I have (with three companions, Mons. Latour Maubourg, Lameth and Pusy) been dragged through horrid confinement to a most unpleasant, narrow hole, digged under the ramparts of this citadel, which for wholesomeness may compare to a New York prison ship, but where I am shut up from all company, all kinds of news, and every means to hear from or write to my friends.

Under these circumstances I have had the unhoped-for good fortune to smuggle a letter out of my den to be forwarded to you, which I the more earnestly beg you to keep a secret, as the fortune and life of some good folks depend on your circumspection.

Now, sir, I am to beg you will forward by a private and safe hand (*not by post*) the letters which will be delivered to you—the Princess d'Henin at London will pay the charges and give back the answer of my family, to whom I don't directly write, not knowing where they are.

You may, with entire confidence, consult with the ingenious, enlightened and philanthropic author of the renowned performance, the Minerva—a gentleman whose exertions in the cause of liberty have been, and will, prove most useful, and for whose integrity, as well as abilities, I have great regard.

I earnestly request, sir, you will please by a safe return to let me hear of the situation of affairs in America, the blessed land of true liberty, and particularly every thing that relates to my paternal friend General Washington.

Whether I may live to thank you in person is a matter very doubtful, I might add not very probable to me; but this I do most heartily say, that as long as I breathe I will remain, Sir,

Your obliged and grateful servant,

LAFAYETTE

The only person whose name I can remember to hear of the lodgings let by the Princess d'Henin is Lord Sheffield, whose direction she had sent to me. But I don't wish, for reasons obvious to every true American, to correspond nor to have anything to do with his lordship.

Il y a une dystonie, très inférieurement dans le...

institutions existans, une que tous criront avoir été oubliés il faudrait que chacun de nous en
au moins un protest, mais pour aux églises, il en faut une pour chacun sans aucun doute
sans rombrement donc nous de tout ce qui est nécessaire au bon d'ici, a tout vouloir par de
fructifier de la de passage de leur.

Quant au front qui devint nous attendre au pied d'Henriot, ce nous conduire
justement jusqu'au lieu de l'acte, tous Napoléon tous avec notre générale amie de
Maurice à ce que tous n'aient plus qu'à faire connaître le jour et l'heure du rendez-vous, et
je n'ai plus encore que tous doit être achetés par le camp, lorsqu'il en viendra de se faire
l'exécution sans nous parler.

particuliers ont été nommés, et il a été décidé de leur confier la

For more letters
see page 112

Marburg va cadete este de la 4-5 ani de la care pot avea ote multe.

[illegible][illegible]

II

This letter is included in the *Mémoires, Correspondance, etc., de Lafayette*. The original is in the collection of Jeremiah Colburn

MAGDEBOURG, 27th March, 1793

Since my captivity, sir, only one piece of political news has reached me, and this your No. of February. You will admit that when fortune favors me with such kindness she could not have done more; I have enjoyed with profound satisfaction the justice you do to my feeling and the appreciation you express for my conduct. Your praise is incomparably beyond my deserts, but this kind exaggeration at the present time is so generous that I can but thank you for having enabled me to hear the voice of liberty honoring my tomb.

My situation is truly strange. I had sacrificed my republican inclinations to circumstances and to the will of the Nation; I served its sovereignty in the constitution which sprung from it; my popularity was great, the legislative corps protected me better the 8th of August than it protected itself, but I had displeased the Jacobins by blaming their aristocracy which usurped to itself the legitimate authority; the priests of all classes, by asserting religious liberty in opposition to them all; the anarchists, by repressing them; the conspirators, by refusing their offers; such were the enemies who united with those whom foreign powers, the anti-revolutionists, and even the court, subsidized against me.

Remember, sir, the premeditated agitation of the 10th of August; the force called out in the name of the law murdered in the name of the people; the citizens without distinction of age or sex

massacred in the streets, thrown into the flames, dragged to prison and there assassinated in cold blood, the king's life only saved by his illegal suspension; the national guard disarmed; the earliest and most faithful friends of liberty and equality, among whom la Rochefoucauld, denounced to the murderers; the constitutional act converted into an engine of proscription; the press chained; opinion punished by death; letters violated and falsified; juries replaced by cut-throats, and the courts of justice given to their chief; the administrative and municipal corps at Paris broken up and reconstructed by a riot; the National Assembly compelled, the dagger at its throat, to give sanction to this madness; in a word, natural, civil, religious and political liberty stifled in blood—what could the man think or do who had never drawn breath except for it, who first in Europe had proclaimed the declaration of rights, had pronounced on the altar of the federation in the name of all Frenchmen the civic oath, and who looked then upon the constitution as, notwithstanding its defects, the best rallying point against our enemies?

Although the national sovereignty was violated in the formation of the new representative body, as well as in the special commissions appointed, I was not willing that the army should fail in its obedience, and it was of the civil authorities within reach of the camp that I asked for orders; assuredly, I eagerly desired that a general protest should re-establish public liberty, that of constituted authority; and if while assuring the independence of elections and deliberations, the nation had desired to revise the

constitutional act, should I have complained, who was the first, the most obstinate defender of the agreements? Certainly I was too much opposed to the crimes committed, or those I foresaw, not to encourage this resistance to the opposition which I looked upon as a duty, but I dare to say that my conduct, in this most difficult situation, will bear the most severe examination.

You will ask me what was the nature of my requisition upon the administrative, judiciary and municipal corps? It was this: On my departure, I reflected upon the numbers of citizens whose own principles, and perhaps my opinions, had set in opposition to the dominant party; I saw their heads proscribed, their families ruined, and diverting from them all vengeance, I made this general and antedated requisition, which only sacrificed myself.

As for my relations with the king, I always had his esteem, never his confidence; to himself a troublesome guard, hated by those who surrounded him, I sought to inspire him with sentiments and actions in the interest of the revolution; to secure his days and his tranquillity, when after his attempt at escape the constituent assembly offered him the royalty anew, I judged it wise to add my voice to the almost unanimous vote for this decree; I have since protested against the license which threatened his person and arrested the execution of the laws; I proposed finally, but quite uselessly, that with the consent of the assembly and a guard of patriots he should leave the city to put his life in safety, to show his good faith, and in this man-

ner perhaps bring about peace; the last time that I saw him he said to me in the presence of the queen and his family that the constitution was their safety, that he alone obeyed it. He complained of the two unconstitutional decrees, of the conduct of the Jacobin ministers relative to the army, and expressed the hope that the enemy might be defeated. You speak, sir, of his correspondence with them. I am still ignorant of it, but from what I have been able to learn of this horrible trial, I think that never were natural and civil rights, national faith, public interest, justice and humanity, so shamefully violated.

I do not know what crimes they have imputed to me, but if, in the correspondence, the words, the acts, the thoughts of my entire life, a single one be cited which liberty or philanthropy would disavow, assert boldly that it was not mine.

Ah, sir, how much I am obliged to you for having taken pity on the inexpressible grief of my soul burning with passion for the cause of humanity, eager for glory, loving my country, my family, my friends, at finding myself after sixteen years of labor compelled to deny myself the happiness of combating for the principles, the sentiments, the purposes for which I have always lived; but what was left for me to attempt? You know with what obstinacy, from the day when the national sovereignty, breaking its chains, legalized public order, and in the fluctuations of popularity which the flatterers of the people disputed by turns, I ceaselessly opposed to license the effort and the arguments of a faithful defender of the law. You know that at the affair of the 10th of August I

was the last to resist and almost alone, for although some citizens were misled by intrigue, nearly all were paralyzed with terror. I was distrusted, accused, in a word proscribed; my defence might have been bloody but useless; it would only have been of service to me, not to the country, and the enemy was at the gate to take advantage of it. I wished to attack them in the hope of death, but seeing no advantage in this I hesitated. I wished to go to Paris to die, but I feared that such an example of popular ingratitude would discourage future movers for liberty. I left therefore, but with all the more secrecy, because a great number of officers, and even several corps, might in such a moment have been excited to leave with me, and after having looked to the safety of the posts and of the troops of my command; after having at the frontier, from motives of delicacy for which we are now paying dearly, sent back my escort, even to my orderlies, I went on in despair with M. de Maubourg, whose intimacy with me dates from our childhood, M. Bureaux de Pusy and some other friends, the greater number of whom had been my aids-de-camp from the time of the creation of the National Guard. M. Alex. Lameth, proscribed and pursued, joined us on the road. We sought to reach Holland and England, then a neutral country; we were even upon the territory of Liege when our falling in with an Austrian corps threw us into the hands of the Coalition; we were arrested, then imprisoned, and the four members of the Constituent Assembly were successively carried to Luxembourg, Wesel, and Magdeburg.

The extent of suffering to which this coalition has subjected us will be known, sir, but what are these sufferings compared with those which popular injustice inflicts on a free soul? Here the triple tyranny of despotic, aristocratic and superstitious power takes its revenge; but the monster is wounded to the death; here all the inventions of the inquisition and dungeons are multiplied around us, but these cruelties, these fears, are an honor to us, and whether it be that our heads are reserved to adorn a triumph, or whether the unwholesomeness of our subterranean dungeons, the deprivation of air and motion, and every moral torture have been selected as a slow poison, I hope that the compassion, the discussion, the indignation my fate excite are so many germs which will bring forth defenders for liberty. It is for these, sir, that in the sincerity of my heart I bequeath to you this consoling truth: that one single service rendered to the cause of humanity can cause greater delight than the union of all its enemies—than popular ingratitude even can cause torments.

What, however, is to become of the French Revolution? Whatever may be the benefits prepared, notwithstanding so many obstacles by Generals Rochambeau, Luckner and myself, and gathered with such energy by our successors, can anything be built upon immorality, tyranny, and disorganization? Men whose venality has wearied all parties; who in their meanness have always kissed the hand which gave or struck; whose pretended patriotism was never other than egotism or envy; avowed corruptors of public morals, authors of protests or

plots against the revolution, mingled with those vile, bloodthirsty wretches who have so often defiled it; what chiefs are those for a free nation! May its legislators restore to it a constitution and legal order! May its generals prove incorruptible! If, however, after the convulsions of license there yet exist a spot where liberty still struggles, how I should curse my chains! I have abandoned all thought of living with my countrymen, but not of dying for them; but is it possible to escape from so many barriers, guards and chains? Why not? already a toothpick, a little lampblack, a scrap of paper, have deceived my jailers; already, at the peril of life, this letter shall have been carried to you; it is true that to the danger of getting out are to be added those of the voyage and delay. From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kamschatka to Amsterdam (for I am not on good terms with the House of Orange) every Bastille awaits me. The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled with my friends; the despots of Europe and their courts, these to me are the savages. Although at St. James I am not loved, there at least is a nation and laws, but I would avoid a country at war with my own. America, the country of my heart, would receive me with joy, yet my solicitude for news from France would incline me to Switzerland for a while.

But I have dwelt too much on this idea; instead of my thanks I have written a long letter, and I pray of you, sir, to receive with my adieu the expression of my gratitude and of my attachment.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

LAFAYETTE

III

MAGDEBOURG, 22d June, 1793

The first expressions of my gratitude should have reached you, sir, long ago. I am at the moment informed that I am under new obligations to you, and that I should in a few days receive from you the replies of my friends. The annexed letter, which I beg of you to seal and remit by a sure conveyance, will give you the few details that can go out from a sad dungeon. It is needless to observe how important it is that the crowned horde who detain us should have no suspicion that we correspond with the outside.

You will soon receive, sir, a visit, with a much more important letter from me. I hasten to close this in renewing to you the expression of the gratitude and attachment with which my heart is filled.

LAFAYETTE

If the Holland patriots are not yet advised of the horrible story of the list of the proscribed, I conjure you to make it known to them. Although the woman to whom I write, without being what is termed an aristocrat, has ideas of liberty greatly different from mine, you can count on her attachment for me, her fidelity, and consequently her discretion.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

IV

MAGDEBOURG, July 9th, 1793

Although my despatches are carried to you, sir, by a lieutenant of this garrison, you must not, therefore, consider me as reconciled to the King of Prussia, and the liberty I take to send you one of his officers is a pure usurpation on my part.

I thank you with all my heart for your letter of the 29th June, and that from London which was annexed to it. You should by this time have received another express from here; but this means of correspondence, although placed in very sure hands, is different from that which I am to-day using, and hangs by another thread. You have rendered us great and generous services, and without endeavoring to express the gratitude with which I am filled, I am about to-day to show you a confidence worthy of you.

Even while tyranny multiplied its cruelties and precautions against us, you are aware that even here in this dungeon of six feet by four liberty formed a party of its own, and her friends became indignant at our captivity. The most attached, the most devoted of all, carries this letter to you. He will show you his instructions; he will tell you what we have arranged, what we are able to do, what we ask of your friendship, and your interview will decide my fate.

To escape the vengeance of despots; to serve a family and friends dear to my heart; to write some observations useful to the defenders of mankind—such seem to me sufficient motives for not dying here; but from what has reached me concerning the state of public affairs, it seems to me that I may yet actively serve the cause of liberty, and I have never been so eager to break my bonds.

I learn, sir, that the United States claim me; that General Washington has written to the King of England; the written appeals and efforts in our

favor, yours particularly, have been of a nature to impress the King of Prussia and the other powers conspiring against humanity. But America is very distant, and European politics very tortuous. But beside that, I would not care that my friend and myself should be under obligations to George the Third. I doubt very much whether he would in good faith oblige the two men whom he the most detests. I further look upon kings in general as being possessed of more instinct than reason, and believe they will never scent me without barking at me. I believe, therefore, that modifications of our imprisonment may be obtained, but not our liberty, and this very liberty for a thousand reasons of every kind we should incomparably prefer to take than to receive from them.

You also know that in this very improbable case conditions will be imposed, less obligatory in fact than that which the lower class of brigands would impose in the corner of a thicket, but it would result, perhaps, from the discussion, that our quadruple doors would close again upon us.

Although family considerations would decide M. de G. not to follow us, he has given us his word that if we do not have the captain, of whom we are almost sure, but to whom we shall not say the final word until his return, he will waive all the reasons which restrain him, and leave with us.

I do not urge you, sir. I know your sentiments. I have experienced your generosity. I appreciate the evidences of your friendship, and I leave all to it. I shall consider as impossible every

thing that you have not conceived or executed, and whether it be that you restore me to life, whether it be that the tomb whence I write you shall never open, I shall remain to my last breath filled with the gratitude and attachment which I have conceived for you.

LAFAYETTE

Be good enough to hand the packages you have received to the bearer of this. He is of the same country as the aide-de-camp with whom I had the pleasure of seeing you.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

V

MAGDEBOURG, 22d July.

Again, sir, I desire to show to you to what point I appreciate your generous friendship. A package should have reached you since your letter of the 29th June, but my reply to this letter, although intrusted to a sure friend, is still in his hands, because it must be delivered to you in person. It was for this reason that you were sought for at Brunswick, where it was hoped you would be found, and it is in the urgent need of a prompt conference that I now ask of you a rendezvous with my friend, whose military duties demand that his absence should not be remarked. I am bold to assure you that the person and his mission will justify this proceeding in your eyes, as it is already justified in my heart in the confidence and gratitude I feel for you; it would be vain for me to attempt to express these sentiments, but they will remain to my last breath united to those of the most tender attachment.

LAFAYETTE

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

VI

MAGDEBOURG, 23d August, 1793

I have received, sir, with equal pleasure and gratitude, your letter of the 12th, and hasten to profit by your advice as well as by your assistance. It is, then, towards Hamburg and Altona that we shall direct our steps, and M. L. B. can leave to concert all the arrangements with you.

He will tell you that we have the assurance of four thousand pounds and also of a Jewish groom, that we will have horses and means of crossing the water, that while the commandant sleeps upon his bunch of keys, the Major de place with his wife, the captain of the guard withdraws his lieutenant and our sentinel for a moment, we are all four to crawl out from our holes, and with the captain escape over the ramparts and to the place where our horses are held ready by L. B. and rapidly gain the carriage which we shall owe to your care. Our friend will tell you also, that if we abandon this plan we can invent others, and that success is all the more sure since its possibility is far beyond the weak imagination of our jailers.

You will learn from this conference that our facilities at Magdebourg will take us five miles (unless we should require your help to cross the water, which M. L. B. must determine before leaving), and it is to carry us from the first relay to Altona that the assistance which is to come from Hambourg is requisite, but my friend should bring back, 1st a good chart with the itinerary traced upon it; 2d, arms; 3d, passports; 4th, a wig; 5th, some drugs, which in case of neces-

sity may ensure a quiet night's sleep to our jailers, with instructions as to the dose to be given; in a word, all the things contained in the letter of instructions which has been communicated to you.

You will have further to arrange, for the remainder of our route, a first place of rendezvous, an itinerary and a distribution of the means of transportation.

M. L. B. has discovered near Helmsted a suitable place to leave our horses and take to the carriage; if you are satisfied with this rendezvous, you must determine the precise house where the carriage will be in waiting, the time of its arrival, the manner by which we may know that it is there, and of making known the day and the hour that it should be at its post.

While adopting in advance your ideas upon the itinerary which M. L. B. can acquaint himself with on his return, I confine myself to the observation that it is important to trace it on our chart, of which you will have a copy, to ascertain upon it all the points of the post or the relays, and if we have to make any detours to look out for the dangerous places, where, by a more direct route an alarm may have been given.

As for the means of transportation, you will observe, that we have those requisite to reach the Helmsted rendezvous, and it appears to me it is there that we should find a post coach with six places, for which four good horses and a postillion suffice, with a courier on horseback in addition, who can have in readiness the post and the relays which you may judge requisite to reach the place of safety, where we may have the joy of embracing my liberator.

I need not add, that to secure secrecy and promptness there should be no question of economy, either as regards the fate of the horses, which will have done us sufficient service; if they supply their relays, or the salaries of their conductors, or the multiplication of expedients.

It is impossible to doubt that Madame d'Henin, of whom, notwithstanding our political opinions, you are aware that I am sure will adopt a plan in exchange for which she has only hopes which I know to be vain; it is impossible that M. Pinkney, who represents the United States, Mr. Short who is likewise my friend, my aides-de-camp, if your request has been confided to them, should be so insensate as to trust my fate to the Coalition of Kings rather than to myself. I can not believe that they have been deceived to this extent, since M. de Manstein, in a letter to Maubourg received yesterday, seems to think he is doing him a great service in advising him to confine himself to the *hope that after the peace he may see his wife and children again*; and there is no doubt, therefore, that my three letters of exchange will be honored at once.

As for that drawn upon the bank, it can only serve to guarantee a sum which the consul at Copenhagen, for instance, will advance for me. This money has been remitted to him for me by Mr. Short, a banker of the United States at Amsterdam, and by him to a banker of Magdebourg, who has placed it in the bank, but as I wished it to remain to the credit of the United States, the commandant receives it with my permission in proportion to my needs, and what may not have been used at the time of my departure is American property, of which

Mr. Short or myself may demand an account. It is only therefore as a guarantee that I have made this draft which can not be presented before my escape, and I observe that the sum diminishes a little every day.

Moreover, it seems to me that our pecuniary resources greatly exceed the expenditure requisite for our project, and I pray you to arrange with any friend the use to be made of it in the plan of campaign you may have arranged. Permit me to add, not only in the impatience of a prisoner, but because of the numberless inconveniences to which delay gives rise, that it is of the utmost importance that the day of its execution should not be deferred. M. L. B. will give you many reasons for it; the more I reflect on this subject the more I feel that it is from delay we have the most danger to apprehend.

I close this scribble, and it is not we that can arrange the details of the plan. They can only be determined upon in the conference between M. L. B. and yourself. Adieu, my generous friend; thanks to you we are about to be released from the *freedom* of the German Empire, and the day is not distant when I may express to you in person my tender and grateful friendship.

LAFAYETTE

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

VII

MAGDEBOURG, 30th Aug. [1793]

Here you are again compromised, my dear Le Blanc, and although the difficulties in which Mayer was involved required this signature, I cannot think without the deepest anxiety of the

number of persons whose indiscretion or timidity may cause your destruction. It is a strong reason the more for hastening the execution of my plan; but if unfortunately it be discovered, and you find yourself in danger, do not hesitate, my dear friend, to put yourself in a place of safety at once. Your horse and the four thousand livres will be sufficient in the first instance, and you will seek M. A—z and, through him, my friends in England, where you will await with them the events which may still reunite us. I hope, however, that by not losing any time we may yet leave together, because delays in this class of enterprises are excessively dangerous.

You will understand from these ideas that I approve of the journey contemplated for to-morrow. I shall not decide whether you should ask a leave of absence, and you are better situated than I to judge of the attending difficulties. I think, however, that upon reflection you have already come to a decision, and I confine myself to wishing you success in whichever of the two ways you may have chosen.

I received yesterday a letter from Münche, no less negative than the first he wrote me, since which he had almost engaged to aid us, and by an infinite number of small circumstances had left no doubt on the subject. You are aware that success seemed to him sure; that he looked upon it as to the advantage both of his family and himself; that he declared that he had not the shadow of a scruple on this point, neither as an officer nor, as they say in this country, the *king's subject*; and that

his only concern was not to be suspected of acting from interested motives. He was waiting a reply from his brother-in-law; but he sends word that he had *not succeeded in this the only way possible*, and that nothing could now induce him to leave; and it is impossible not to detect, in this mysterious tone, pecuniary considerations, which I hope our first conference may remove.

However this may be, I am thankful that I did not confide to him any of our plans, and his absolute ignorance of our correspondence with M. A—z and of our different projects for escape leaves us in the free possession of all our resources, except those which we expected from his assistance. You are sufficiently acquainted with his character to know that even these are not absolutely lost to us; but in any event we must nevertheless make and hasten our arrangements.

You are aware in fact, my dear Le Blanc, that besides the egress with the captain, or through the connivance of the captain, by following out my old seven-o'clock plan, we have many ways open to us—that of the chimney of the interior cell, which on thorough inspection seems to be quite practicable, and which, therefore, becomes the most certain of all. But only my neighbor and myself can profit by it, and you will find that this circumstance is very unfortunate for me, although if every other expedient should fail, I should certainly avail of this with the less scruple, because besides my duties towards all my friends (and, perhaps I may add, to the public good), it is clear to me that my presence is a great ob-

stacle to the deliverance of my companions, and, moreover, you cannot long remain here.

In view of all these considerations, we should hasten all the purchases and all preparations that may be necessary for the four prisoners and the two officers, and you must feel that in such a matter no question of economy should stand in the way. You will bring back with you every thing that may be necessary for leaving Magdebourg, adding to those mentioned in the instructions and letters what you may think have been forgotten. Each of us should have at least one pistol; as for swords, each should have surely one. You will, therefore, return prepared with every thing that may be necessary for our departure from this place, and you will not forget to arrive at some plan for the crossing of the water.

As for the assistance which we should look for near Helmstat and to carry us afterwards to a place of safety, you will arrange all the details with our generous friend, so that I will only have to give information of the hours fixed for the different rendezvous; and I again repeat that every thing should be immediately purchased and prepared, as it is impossible to defer the execution of the plan without loss of every chance.

I hear them unfastening my first locks, and have only time to embrace you with my whole heart.

LAFAYETTE

Maubourg will seal this letter, and add to it what may have been forgotten.

[*In another hand*—If I add one word, it is only to agree with M. de La F. that you should not hesitate one instant to

make use of the four thousand livres, if our ill fortune will it that your generous devotion be discovered. It is at least a slight consolation for us to feel that though you run some risk you have the means to escape. If M. Münche persist in his refusal, I see no other way but that of the chimney, which can only serve for my neighbor and myself. But to be frank with you, the important point is that he should escape, in the first place, for the public good, and also because, were he free, we should not long be detained. You know that on this ground I desire his personal escape. I urge you, therefore, to make all your arrangements for the 4th, even though he only should profit by them.

If you go to H—r, do not forget to bring with you on your return the letter we expect from England. Arrange that we be well armed, for should we be overtaken, the struggle will be to the death. I am sure that M. A—z will agree with me that the essential thing is the liberty of my neighbor, and that we should all remain here if by leaving we take away even one probability of success. Adieu. LA T. MGR

If you can send us a piece of sealing-wax by one of your friends, you will do us a great service.

[M. LE BLANC]

VIII

MAGDEBOURG, 21st Sept., 1793

Information must have been sent to Mr. Pinkney, to Madame d'Henin, and by them to La Colombe, Boinville, etc., of a plan, the most important part of which is arranged, and which only needs their pecuniary aid.

I can not doubt but that after having sent word to me *that I shall not want for bail*, they can find a way to get this money to the hands of the friend who sends them my note. Mr. Pinkney certainly well knows that the United States will not blame him.

But in case, by I know not what reasoning upon my situation, I know not what hope as to my fate, my friends may be dissuaded from aiding in this plan, I warn them that by assuming to themselves the strange responsibility of declining to accede to my wishes, they are laying up for themselves bitter regrets, and all the more certain since the affair is already brought to a point where the only alternatives are a success, if they hasten to aid me, or the most serious disasters if they lose time.

I will observe that in a letter of Lally it is suggested that this bank be drawn upon to send funds to Chavaniac. This measure can not be necessary, because the very minute calculation sent by Madame de Maubourg to her husband entirely satisfies me on this point, and also because it is impossible that other resources will not be forthcoming.

This plan is pernicious for us, because by a correspondence almost public here, it seems to announce that I shall not find bail, which may give rise to a most unfortunate error, and we can not account to ourselves for the phrase of Lally except that its intention is to cause our keepers to believe that our friends do not think of sending us any money, or that there is a project to send some person to us under this pretext.

But we have no need of it, and it is only necessary to satisfy the demand of

the friend charged with this note, and with the execution of that part of our plan which has reference to it.

As for the letter of Lally, to the King of Prussia, it is a new proof of his friendship for us, but we can not reasonably expect it to succeed. The feelings entertained towards me by the coalition have been unchanged for many years, and moreover it is probable that Lally says "that in the conduct which my obligations to the constitution imposed upon me, I was particularly called upon to defend the authority with which the nation had invested the king; he says that I had often saved his life, as also that of the queen when the factions wished to strike them down," and he is not informed of a fact of which I have been assured within the last three days; namely, that we were delivered up to the King of Prussia on the requisition of the *Baron de Breteuil*, in the name of the king and of the queen; a requisition which was confirmed by a note from her, and that we have in consequence been held prisoners in order that our trial might be in due parliamentary form.

Since Mme. de Lameth came to see her son we have new motives for the project, of which my friends have been informed.

I should feel that I were wronging them by dwelling upon this point, but I warn them that they have not a moment to lose, and I renew to them the expressions of my tender attachment.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

L. F.

IX

[MAGDEBOURG] 24th Oct. [1793]

At last, my dear L. B., thanks to your perseverance, you are about to bring

our adventure to a close, and I no longer doubt its success. You have already so many notes on this subject that I shall add but little. I must, however, tell you that the commandant has permitted the letters of Madame d'Henin to reach my hands, the entirely too open style of which led me to suspect there was a concealed passage within. It soon displayed itself in red letters, and as this chemical process left it fit only for the fire, it was necessary to persuade the commandant that he himself had lost it. Madame d'Henin informs me, that the Hanoverian doctor is the same who brought M. de Narbonne out from Paris; that she has assured him a pension of four thousand livres for my deliverance; that it is only necessary for me to send him instructions to London; and that I can count upon the friend who will cause the letters to reach me.

You are already aware that M. Giotanner has simply written me by General Huken, and that but for the stupidity of our commandant, joined to a little address on my part, this imprudence would have ruined every thing. I have sent word by my friend of Baden to M. Giotanner to entreat him not to write either through the Government or yet by the post, and by the same opportunity I entreated Madame d'Henin to abandon all such useless and dangerous projects, and only to regard those which I had concerted with M. A——z, concerning which he must have written to her. This letter was sealed, and although I had asked M. Giotanner to send it forward by a sure opportunity, I employed a hieroglyphic style, and with care not to name M. A——z nor the

place of his residence, but in styling him *my generous friend*, I am quite sure that Madame d'Henin would not be deceived as to the person to whom she should send the doctor.

My answers by the commandant were confined to explaining in the most natural manner that was possible the double meaning of Madame d'Henin, and to assure him of my exclusive confidence in my generous friend. I hope that the Ministers may not see that of the two letters which I have not burned, and I have impressed upon the poor commandant that he should keep the package that his oversight might not be discovered. I must observe that the views of my friends are of the month of May, and consequently prior to the overtures which M. A—z made to them for me. I have, therefore, reason to believe that the young doctor or some other persons are now with him, and although the facilities are quite insufficient for the principal object, they can be utilized on the journey. This advice may be sent to Madame d'Henin, and you will make use of it with every person who may act in her behalf. But as all the additions which we may secure to our plan are in no way so advantageous, as delay may prove fatal, I conjure M. A—z and yourself to abandon every thing which delays its execution, and to look upon your return here as the decisive period for my departure.

And now, my dear friend, I will repeat for the last time the various parts of our scheme.

You have all the necessary directions concerning the arms and means of dis-

guise which you should bring from H—g. It will be necessary for me to pass for an Englishman, calling myself, if necessary, an American, and the mixture of English words to the little German which I will mumble will aid in the deception. But I should prefer not to be stopped, and I trust entirely to all the arrangements which M. A—z will inform us of, as well as the way to reach A—a without being exposed to the requisition which, in case of unforeseen discovery, a courier from Magdebourg or from B—k might make on the road by anticipating us at some point.

It seems to me that to get to the Helmstat rendezvous will require the best horses that can be had, and that from Helmstadt I should gain the Hanoverian frontier on horseback, where your light carriage and swift horses will be in waiting. Would it not be well, if you remain here, that some one who can speak French or English (the second would be better) and German should be with this carriage while the Jew gets the horses ready. For that matter it is for M. A—z and yourself to arrange all these details of my journey, by placing more or less relays, carriages or horses to remove suspicion, while at the same time hastening my movements. Although a sojourn of fourteen months in the prisons of their Majesties has not contributed to my health, yet I have a strong constitution, and my early habits of life, added to the recollection of my fetters, will enable me to make a very rapid journey. I believe that quite a long time will pass before my absence is per-

ceived; but as it is not impossible that it may be known at the end of two hours, it will be necessary to provide against accidents even, and to get beyond pursuit.

We now come to the mode of egress. We will make another examination of the chimney, which can be better done, doubtless, if your friend B——r should be on guard and, supported by an order from you, should come to assist us in this examination. But in any event we will prepare the brick wall, which separates my dungeon from the inner cellar, so that in an hour a hole may be made, either, actually, to reach this chimney, even though my doors should be closed, or to persuade all the commanders and all the commanded of Magdebourg that it is through it that I escaped, when consequently no reproach will fall upon either the officers or the sentinels.

Thus I will go out after seven o'clock after the posts have been relieved, either by the chimney or through the palisade with the officer, which is all the more easy, because my neighbors shut their blinds at night. The sentinels will not have seen whether the officer came in alone, and the arrival of the gazettes, and sometimes even of the doctor, have accustomed them to see our doors opened at this hour. The Captain, if M——o consents, and if he be not willing, a lieutenant, who is a friend of yours, will conduct me without the doors, and will, in the first arrangement, place me near the spot where you are, and in the second, in your own hands. You will lead me by a door, the lieutenant in charge of which will be favorable, to the rendez-

vous where the horses and the Jew will be in waiting, and you will return quietly to bed.

During this time Maubourg, safe under cover of my lock, will complete the demolition of the bricks, will put my coat in the chimney after he has blackened it well, to appear as though I had thrown it down from the top, and will put a mannequin in my bed with my night-cap on, and so hidden under the bed-clothes as to deceive the commandant, even though he should go in (remark that even then a cloak will conceal the hole at the end of the wall). But he will not come in, because my servant will tell him that I am sick and asleep. I will make the experiment to-night, and not close my letter without informing you of its success, of which I have no doubt.

The next morning it will be easy for my servant to go in before the hired man, and even to stop him. Thus by stopping him at the door, he will have time to undo the mannequin; and we have the choice either of prolonging this comedy until one or two o'clock, or of having my astounding disappearance announced by my servant to M. de Maubourg, the officers and all who may have the curiosity to see the hole and the chimney which will have enabled me to reach the ditch, the river and the plain, while the commandant slept on his bunch of keys.

In fact, my servant will say, "I saw him go to bed." Maubourg, whom my departure will have put in a bad humor, will say that "I heard his voice at half-past eight." The officers will say, "We saw him near the light at eight o'clock." The Major himself will believe that he

saw me in my bed, and no one can blame either the officers of the guard or the sentinels for my having escaped in the middle of the night while the commandant had the keys, and at a point which had not been brought to the notice of the guard either by the commandant or the foresight of the engineers. And even if the chimney be too narrow or too steep, it is a very little matter, as M. de Maubourg will bear witness that I climb like a cat and swim like a fish. It will be all the more impossible to discover the truth, since the connivance of de Maubourg in my escape without going himself shows on his part a friendship too delicate and affectionate for Governments to suspect its existence.

It is perhaps fortunate even that your groom is a Jew. This nation owes to me its equality before the law in France, and it will be thought that the gratitude of the Hebrews has conspired to my deliverance.

As for Captain M——o, his last guard duty has enabled me to learn further details upon the return of the capital which he demanded of his father-in-law, from whom he expects a reply Monday; upon the letter which he wrote to the King, by M. de Riétz, to obtain a company of foot; upon his determination to quit his regiment. And although he has repeated to me that he would never consent to leave, he has given me to understand that he was desirous of renewing his arrangement with me. He has made it evident to me that he wishes to know our plans, either to betray us for money or to serve us for his profit.

In this uncertainty I have sought to deceive him concerning anything which

concerns our plan, and particularly with regard to you. I have persuaded him that I had faith in him only, that I should distrust any other confidant but himself, that it was useless to open the subject to lieutenants, because all the lieutenants of the garrison were powerless without a captain, and that I had observed that two officers, M. de Kleist, of the Regiment of Baden, and yourself, both of whom speak French very well, having been very kind to me, had in turn avoided me, and that I could attribute their coolness to nothing but their fear to compromise themselves. We accordingly agreed to keep our secret to ourselves, and I trust I have greatly diminished the suspicions which rested on you.

But since you are of opinion that I should make use of him, I will approach him Saturday or Sunday (unless you advise me to abstain) with a formal proposition. In order to soothe his vanity, I will tell him that I no longer insist on his leaving with me, but not doubting his intention to join me in France, I should advance the means to arrange his affairs here; that if he will give me his word to place me outside of the citadel while taking means to protect himself from suspicion, I will engage on my part to send him within a month a thousand louis in several letters of exchange, and I think that it will be necessary to have one or two hundred louis to give him as I go out. The vanity of M——o is the only obstacle that my proposition can meet with; if you approve make no answer; in contrary case I expect a word from you.

If, however, the instability of his char-

acter and his ambitious dreams cause him to refuse my offer or give us reason to think that he would only make use of it to betray us, some other plan must be found, and I believe that your friend in particular, if he avoid certain captains, such as Kalligan, would run no risk in placing me outside. Such would not be your case, because you are suspected, and if you go outside of the citadel with me we must leave Magdebourg together, or at least you must depart before my absence is suspected, but any other officer would run no risk, particularly of those who, like your friend, do not speak French, and could not even be accused of having arranged a plot with M. de Maubourg by which I should escape without him.

You see, my dear friend, that I lend myself as far as possible to your desire to remain here, much pain as it gives me, but at least hold yourself always in readiness to leave at the first alarm, and as soon as your marriage is concluded persuade your wife to quit this accursed country and to join a family which will impatiently await its deliverers. In the contrary case, if by the necessity of your being obliged to open the door in person, it become impossible for you to escape the suspicion of the government, I accept with the liveliest gratitude the fulness of your generous sacrifice, and in that case we shall leave together.

But except yourself, who are already much suspected, there is not a single lieutenant who, in the guard duty under certain difficult captains, such as Shukman and Kalligan, might not easily put me outside without exposing himself to the least danger. We are even of opin-

ion that the chimney, in consequence of the necessary preparations, is more dangerous than the simple egress at quarter-past seven o'clock, even at six, provided I had returned from the promenade before five o'clock relief, that the sentinels may not know whether the lieutenant has come in alone with me, and as it is not to be doubted that a chimney of fourteen inches can be passed, and as a sweep of my size said to us the other day that he went up the chimneys of the citadel which are not divided by gratings, we look upon this as an infinitely precious resource by which to deceive as to my real mode of egress, and save from any trouble whichever one of your good friends shall render me this service.

All the more attention must be paid to the passports, as, if I have not a Prussian officer with me, they will be examined with all the more particularity. I need not add that you should assure the Jew groom of a fortune from me. I do not say greater than that which he has, which is not a difficult matter I suppose, but infinitely beyond his expectations. This man in the preparations and on the journey will be the absolute master of my fate; and it is just that the recompense be in proportion to such a service.

You will greatly oblige me by assuring me that your voyage will be rapid and your return very prompt. The absence of the moon is a precious circumstance; the dangers of delay are great; let us hasten to put our plan in execution.

Your seal was unbroken; your letter is burned; I add here a word for M. A—z, and another for Madame

d'Henin. I do not think, however, that this letter should be sent, for nothing should be thought of that you do not find all ready on your arrival at H—g. But if any messenger of Madame d'Henin should be there you will show him this new proof that my two liberators, and our facilities alone, can bring success, and that everything should be subordinated to them; but if we only have what we already possess the plan must nevertheless be put in execution, for soon it will be too late.

Adieu, my dear friend, I need not say to you with what impatience I await your return, and it would be still more difficult for me to express to you with what gratitude my heart responds to all that it owes to you.

LAFAYETTE

[M. LE BLANC]

(*In another hand*), I have only time to say one word. My neighbor feigned illness last evening; the major did not look into the room, which gives assurance that when he puts his departure in execution it will not be known till the next morning. I insist on a perfectly regular passport. We know that M. de Lameth was demanded nearly every where, and especially in those places where there are troops, which should be avoided as far as possible in the journey you will agree upon with M. A—z. I leave it to you to seal his package, which contains a letter for him and one for Madame d'Henin. Believe each of you that though I am not included in the escape of my friend, I nevertheless share all of his feelings of gratitude.

[LATOUR MAUBOURG]

NOTES

LETTER OF WILLIAM NICOLL—The following hitherto unpublished letter of William Nicoll, a prominent lawyer of Colonial New York, is copied from the original now in the possession of a descendant, Mrs. Mary Nicoll Putnam, a resident of Elizabeth, N. J.:

"Brother Rensselaer, I pray impute my not answering your two letters before now, to my inability to write and other indispositions and afflictions I labour under. The last letter I had from our deceased brother, informed me that he had placed my son Rensselaer at our aunt Schuyler's to lodge and board, which he would discharge by the rents due from Bethlem, in answer to which I signified my approbation. Since which I have given no order or direction to Capt. Willson or any body else concerning these rents, nor have received anything myself from them for about three years past. I am willing aunt Schuyler should be paid according to brother Rensselaer's arrangement, and my son supplied with all necessary fittings for him, but expect and pray that I may have some account of the money laid out and expended. I was not a little surprised at what you mention of brother Rensselaer's will relating to those Lands. You know brother, that your sister had them in exchange for Crantor and that I have been possessed and seized of them in her right as her inheritance for upwards of twenty years before her death. I am very willing Rensselaer should enjoy those lands but the right to them after my death will be in his brother Ben as heir to his mother who I always intended to leave an equivalent

in lue of them. I pray favour me with a copy of that Clause in Brother's will to which I shall only add my due regards to Sister and all your Family, to Sister Rensselaer and our cousins her children, with my hearty thanks for the care of my son, from, Dear Brother, your affectionate Brother and humble Servt.

W. Nicoll

Islip Jan'y 9th 1720-21."

This letter was written to his brother-in-law Hendrick Van Renssalaer at Claverack, son of Jeremias and Maria Van Courtlandt. Rensselaer Nicoll was the writer's third son, an ancestor of the Sill family of Albany Co.—"Aunt Schuyler" was Maria Van V. Rensselaer, sister to Anna Nicoll, and wife of Peter Schuyler. Anna received 1600 acres on the North River at Bethlehem Flats, 8 miles below Albany and part of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck. "Brother's will" was of Kilian Van Renssalaer, eldest brother to Anna.

W. H.

Elizabeth

MISTAKEN PSEUDONYM OF LONGFELLOW—A singular mistake is made in a "Handbook for Fictitious Names," by Olphar Hamst, Esq., which was published in London thirteen years ago. It is there said (page 35) that Joshua Coffin is a pseudonym of Henry W. Longfellow, who appears, according to the handbook, as the author of the History of Newbury, Massachusetts. I never understood how this blunder was made, but an entry in Allibone's "Critical Dictionary" seems to explain the whole matter. It is as follows: "COFFIN, JOSHUA. See LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH," and then under *Long-*

fellow there is a reference to Coffin's history. It was a misapprehension of this cross-reference, which I grant was rather obscure, that misled the writer of the London publication. Olphar Hamst is an anagram of Ralph Thomas, the real name of the author of the "Handbook."

SAMUEL A. GREEN

Boston

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES IN NEW ENGLAND—Sewall, in his Diary for April 6, 1688, writes: "The Exposition of the Church of England Catechise," by the Bishop of Bath and Wells [Ken], comes out printed by Richard Pierce with the 39 articles.

IULUS

HISTORY OF FLAGS—In a somewhat scarce book, which I have, the full title of which is:

| LA CONNOISSANCE | DES | PAVIL-
LONS, | OU | BANNIÈRES, | QUE LA PLÜ-
PART DES | NATIONS | ARBORENT EN
MER, | COMME SONT CEUX. |

| D'ANGLETERRE, D'ECOSSE ET D'IR-
LANDE, DES | PROVINCES - UNIS, DES
PAYS BAS, DE L'ESPAGNE, | DU PORTU-
GAL, DE L'ITALIE, DE FRANCE, DU |
DANNEMARC, DE LA SUÈDE, DE LA PO-
LOGNE, | DE PRUSSE, D'ALLEMAGNE,
DE MOSCOVIE, DE | TURQUIE, DE BAR-
BARIE, & DES INDES ORIENTALES, &c. |

(Devise.)

| A LA HAYE. |

CHEZ JAQUES VAN DEN KILBROM.

MD. CC. XXXVII.

The following ENGLISH flags are engraved and described, viz:

1. Pavillon De George I., d'Angleterre.

2. Grand pavillon d'Angleterre and pennant—containing on its white field the Royal Arms and Supports and over them the motto : "For the Protestant religion and the Liberty of England." Underneath "Je Maintiendrai."
3. Pavillon D'Angleterre de l'Union : A red flag with the motto :
"FOR THE PROTESTANT RELIGION
AND THE
LIBERTY OF ENGLAND."
4. Nouveau Pavillon de L'Union : a red flag with the Union Jack of 1707, bearing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.
5. Pavillon Particulier des Anglois : a white flag with the red cross of St. George across the field, and a small red St. George's cross in the upper centre next the staff.
6. Pavillon D'Amiral D'Angleterre : a red flag with a foul anchor erect in its centre.
7. Pavillon Particulier d'Angleterre : a red flag with a white centre, bearing a red St. George's cross—and in the fly of the flag a small white saltière or St. Andrew's cross.
8. Pavillon de Rang ou de Division d'une Escadre : a flag of *thirteen alternate red and white stripes*, commencing with a red stripe at the top and a white centre or Jack bearing a red St. George's cross. The Jack rests on the 6th—a white stripe.
9. Pavillon Rouge d'Angleterre : a red flag with a white centre, bearing a red St. George cross.
10. Pavillon du Peuple D'Angleterre : a red burgee, with a broad white heading top to bottom blazoned with a red St. George's cross. In the centre of this flag, on a red shield bordered with white, are three yellow or golden leopards, passant guardent.
11. Pavillon de Beaupré d'un Jacht D'Angleterre : a blue flag, with the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.
12. Pavillon Nouveau D'Amiral D'Angleterre : a red flag, with a golden anchor horizon, with a foul cable above and below the shank.
13. Pavillon de la Companie des Indes Orientales D'Angleterre : a flag of 9 alternate red and white stripes ; red stripe topmost and a white centre, with red cross of St. George resting on the fifth—a red stripe.
14. Pavillon de la Nouvelle d'Angleterre en Amerique : a blue flag with white canton and red St. George cross, with a globe or hemisphere on stand in the upper square of the canton.
15. Pavillon de Bugie, Ville Capitale du Royaume près d'Alger : a red flag or ensign, with the English Jack of 1707.
16. Pavillon Anglois d'un Jacht d'Guinée : a red square flag, with a white square, blazoned with red St. George cross in the centre of the field. Red borders of the flag and of the white square surrounded with small white squares or blocks.
17. Pavillon de St. George : a white square flag, with the red latter cross stretched across it.
18. Pavillon de l'Isle de Man : a red flag, with a white St. George Jack or Union, and in the fly of the three yellow legs joined at the hips.
19. Pavillon des Indes Orientales D'Ecosse : a red flag with a blue-

- white—blue stripes at the base and resting on the upper blue stripe a golden half sun with rays.
20. Pavillon de Escadre de Division des Vaisseaux Ecossois: a flag with eleven alternate red and white stripes, red on top. White union with red St. George cross.
 21. Pavillon d'Ecosse: a white flag with a white St. George union.
 22. Pavillon Rouge d'Ecosse: a red flag, with a blue union, bearing the white saltière of St. Andrew.
 23. Pavillon d'Irlande: a white flag with a red saltière.
 24. Pavillon Particulier d'Irlande: a green flag with a white St. George canton or union, and a golden harp in the fly.

Brookline, Mass.

G. H. P.

THE HARVARD OBSERVATORY.—In "Harvard Book," Cambridge, 1875, Vol. I., page 156, it is stated in a biography of President Everett, that "the Harvard Observatory was established on its present site in his administration." This is a mistake. In 1839 Mr. W. C. Bond was appointed Astronomical Observer to Harvard University, and took possession of a house in Cambridge, prepared by President Quincy for a rudimentary Observatory. In 1842-43, the munificence of President Quincy's friends among the capitalists, chiefly of Boston, enabled him to purchase several acres of land in Cambridge, and to found thereon the Sears Tower and a house for the observer, and to order a great Equatorial Telescope. In September, 1844, Mr. Bond removed to the new Observatory, and May 8, 1845, there, assisted by his

son, G. P. Bond, observed a transit of Mercury. Before President Quincy resigned the office of president, in August, 1845, he completed the purchase of the Equatorial Telescope, and, although it was not finished, paid for it. It arrived in Cambridge early in 1846. During these years Mr. Everett was United States Minister in England, and had no part in these arrangements. The Observatory and the Equatorial Telescope belong to the administration of President Quincy. These facts are shown in the annual reports of the Treasurer of Harvard College. E. S. Q.

Wollaston, Mass.

QUERIES

PIERSON GENEALOGY.—I wish to know whether a genealogical history of the Pierson family was published as contemplated by Rev. John Pearson, President of Union College, several years ago, and if so, where a copy of the book can be obtained. R. W. PERSONS

Providence, R. I.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—Affixed to the number of this Magazine for April, 1875, was the following notice:

"To the Binder: There are no numbers bearing date from April, 1874, to March, 1875, both inclusive; and this number dated April, 1875, follows that dated March, 1874, in the same volume, as it would were it dated 1874, instead of 1875.

The perfect Volume III, therefore, will consist of numbers dated January, 1874; February, 1874; March, 1874; Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II.;

Extra No. III.; Extra No. IV.; April, 1875; *Extra No. V.*; May, 1875; *June*, 1875; *Extra No. VI.* Those referred to in italics are not yet issued, but will be in due course.

Henry B. Dawson, *Publisher*"

I have *Extra No. V.*; were the numbers for May and June, 1875, and Extra No. VI. issued?

A. MUNGO

Hudson, N. Y.

THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.—The Rev. James B. Finley, in his autobiography, gives the following verse of a song composed on the battle of King's Mountain as he recollects hearing from his mother:

"Proud Ferguson, he placed himself,
All with his ragged race, man;
He most defied the living God,
To take him from that place, man;
But brave Campbell did him there surround,
And beat him on his chosen ground,
And gave him there a deadly wound,
With pell and mell the Tories fell;
It's hard to tell how bad a smell
They left upon the place, man."

Does any reader recollect the rest of the song?

ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

THE QUEEN OF THE MISCHIANZA.—Watson, the annalist, is said to have obtained many particulars concerning the famous Philadelphia Tory pageant from "Mrs. L—", the Queen of the Mischianza."

"The Queen," says Sargent, "is said to have been a lady, who, in describing it afterwards, represented André as the charm of the company."

Who was "The Queen of the Mischianza?"

C.

REPLIES

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—[V. 454, VI. 226] The following list, it is believed, includes all the issues of volumes or parts of volumes of the late "Historical Magazine."

The Magazine was issued in monthly parts, beginning with January, 1857. For the first ten volumes, or the first series, twelve numbers formed one volume. The first series was, therefore, completed in December, 1866. Mr. Dawson now appears to have become connected with the Magazine, as editor and proprietor, beginning with the July number of the last volume of this series.*

In 1859, the year in which Vol. III. was issued, the publishers sent out a "Prescott Memorial" of 32 pp. It was advertised on the cover of the March number to appear in March. It contained matter not in the Magazine, and was entitled on the cover "Historical Magazine—Extra," and to be sold for 25c. a number. This extra number will sometimes be found bound up with vol. III.

In the early part of the year 1860 the publishers issued a pamphlet of 64 pages, entitled "Irvingiana," with a portrait of Irving and a *fac-simile* page of the Sketch Book. It was intended to be bound in with Vol. IV. of the Magazine.

There will sometime be found bound at the end of Vol. V., issued in 1861, two pamphlets, each separately paged, and not indexed with the volume—namely, one on the "Early Editions of King James' Bible in Folio," 12 pp.; and the other on "Shakespeare's Plays in Folio," 5 pp.—understood to have been written by the late James Lenox.

At the end of vol. IX. will sometimes

be found six leaves separately paged, entitled "Organization of the Militia." Vol. X. has six supplements of 200 pp., separately paged, but indexed as a part of the Magazine.

Of the second series, beginning with January, 1867, six numbers constituted a volume, so that two volumes were issued in a year instead of one as formerly. All the numbers of the Magazine bear date as if issued in proper order, up to and including the August number, 1871—the first series entire, and the second series lacking four numbers to complete the tenth volume. This hiatus was never supplied, and the two numbers for July and August, 1871, should be bound up as constituting all that were ever published of Vol. X., second series.

It may be added that Vol. II. of this series contained seven numbers, there being an extra number, "VI," issued in November, and paged with the volume. It was merely an advertising number, and headed, "What our neighbors say of us." The numbers for September and October of Vol. VI. were issued in one cover.

The next issue was dated January, 1872, being number one of the third series (the publisher intending apparently all the while to bring up the arrears of the last series, which was never accomplished), followed by the numbers for February and March. Then came a long cessation of issues, so that the next number sent out was dated April, 1873. One whole year was jumped over, and this number was paged so as to join on to that of March, 1872. Then followed the numbers for May and June, 1873, completing Vol. I., third series. It

may be added that, sometime between the issues of March and April of this volume, the editor sent out an unpagged sheet of some half dozen leaves, dated "July, 1872, Extra Number." This was merely an advertising number, like that noticed above. The numbers for Vol. II. of this series appear in regular order, and conclude the year 1873. Of the numbers forming Vol. III. there were issued those for January, February and March, 1874, when there came another long cessation, during which "Extra" numbers, containing notices of books, were occasionally sent out. There was an extra dated "March, 1874," pp. 197-212; another for "December, 1874," or "Extra No. II.," pp. 397-408; one for "January, 1875," or "Extra No. III.," pp. 409-413; and one for "March, 1875," or "Extra No. IV.," pp. 231-246. Then followed a regular number for April, 1875, leaping over again another year, followed by "Extra No. V.," pp. 311-326. And this is the end.

Owing in part to the ill health of the editor and proprietor of the Magazine, a great part of the numbers forming the second and third series fell in arrears, and there was a constant struggle to bring up the back numbers, and to keep the work in progress, so that few of the numbers probably were really issued according to the dates which they bear. There is also a want of uniformity in the paging of some of the "Extra" numbers, which are intended by the editor to be preserved as parts of the Magazine.

On a slip of paper pasted on to the cover of the number for April, 1875, the editor says: "The perfect Vol. III.

[third series] will consist of numbers dated January, 1874; February, 1874; March, 1874; Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II.; Extra No. III.; Extra No. IV.; April, 1875; *Extra No. V.*; *May*, 1875; *June*, 1875; *Extra No. VI.* Those referred to in italic are not yet issued, but will be in due course."

Of those referred to as not then issued, but forthcoming "in due course," the "Extra No. V.," it is believed, is the only one published.

Besides these "Extras" mentioned above as having been issued and forming part of Vol. III., third series, extra copies have sometimes been struck off of articles already printed in the Magazine; but these form no part of a complete set of the work.

It is now about six years, as we have seen, since the last number of the Magazine was issued.

C. D.

Cambridge

*Vol. I., first series, was edited by J. W. Dean; vol. II., by George Folsom; vols. III. to IX. inc., by J. G. Shea; vol. X., Jan. to June, by H. R. Styles; vol. X., July to Dec., by H. B. Dawson, who was editor and proprietor of the Magazine thenceforward during its existence.

—[V. 454, VI. 226] In answer to an application to Mr. Henry B. Dawson made in November, 1876, as to what constituted a complete set of the Historical Magazine, I received the following from him:

"In reply to your inquiry:

First Series.—10 volumes, 1857-1866, including the Magazine, proper; the Irvingiana, the Prescott Memorial, and my Supplement to Volume X.

Second Series.—9 volumes, 1857-1867; July and August numbers of Volume X.; extras, containing separate copies of

my Reply to Gov. Hall on Vermont History, and of my review of C. F. Adams's address on American Neutrality.

Third Series.—Volumes I. and II.; January, February, March, Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II.; Extra No. III.; Extra No. IV.; April, 1875; Extra No. V. (May was nearly one-half in type when [my son] Henry died. *It is as it was when he left it.*)"

HENRY T. DROWNE

New York

F. F. V.—VI. 221 The young Virginians at Princeton College to whom Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Smith referred in his essay on "The variety of the complexion of the human species," were John Randolph, of Roanoke, and his elder brother Theodorick Bland Randolph. Both were students at Nassau Hall for a few months only in the latter part of 1787. Sawyer in his Life of Randolph says that the latter, in a published letter many years afterward, corrected the statement of President Smith that he was but four degrees removed from Pocahontas—he claiming to be *seventh* in descent, and summing up his genealogy as follows: Pocahontas; Thomas Rolfe; Jane Bolling; John Bolling, Sr.; John Bolling, Jr.; Jane Randolph; John Randolph, Sr.; John Randolph, of Roanoke.

J. C. H.

MATCH COATS [VI 60, 225] is correct, although the conjecture that "Watch Coats" were meant is a very common error. Washington, in his journal of 1753, mentions that on his visit to Queen Alliquippa, at the mouth of Youghiogheny,

he "made her a present of match coat and a bottle of rum." *Sparks, Irving, Rupp, Albach* and other historians supposing watch coat was meant so printed it; yet, had they referred to *Webster's Dictionary* (not the first edition) they would have read: "Match-cloth, *n.*, a coarse kind of woolen cloth. Match-coat, *n.*, a coat made of match-cloth." Match-coats are frequently mentioned by Indian traders, and at Indian treaties in the last century. ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE—[VI. 96] In the article on Washington's Headquarters at the Roger Morris House on Harlem Heights, the author, following previous historians, says that Howe was at the Apthorpe House at the time of the battle of Harlem. Conclusive evidence has since been procured from an unpublished letter of a British officer that Howe had his headquarters at the Beekman House overlooking Turtle Bay, and that the British advance post was at McGowans. IULUS

KOSCIUSKO [IV. 221, V. 378]—Both Kosciusko and Niemcewicz were in Elizabethtown, N. J., about the beginning of the present century. Of the former, when stopping at one of the old taverns, on his first visit, two or three years perhaps before this, it is related that meeting there incidentally a little son of Col. Shepard Kollock, the founder and proprietor of the *New Jersey Journal*—who was named after him, the noble-hearted man was so pleased that he took the little fellow up in his arms and kissed him, placed around his neck or

fastened to his coat a gold ornament (a cross if I remember aright) which is still tenderly preserved in the family. This anecdote we received from a daughter of the late Rev. Shepard Kosciusko Kollock, of Philadelphia, who was the little boy.

Count Julian Niemcewicz, on the 2d of July, 1800, married Mrs. Susan Kean, of Elizabethtown, whose first husband was the Hon. John Kean, member of Congress from South Carolina in 1786-7, and who was the daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, of New York. This eminent foreigner was a resident here until 1804, when he was summoned to the Diet, and returned to Poland, never revisiting America. He is said to have been Secretary of State at a much later date in the history of that ill-fated country, and to have then drawn from England for a large sum on his wealthy and excellent wife a draft, which was duly honored. This Polish nobleman, as heard from a venerated lady who was his contemporary in Elizabethtown, was a man of very unassuming character and appearance. Shortly after becoming a resident he called at the house of a respectable family near Liberty Hall, then his wife's stately mansion, formerly that of her uncle, Governor Livingston, with a pail in his hand, and applied at the front door for some butter. The good lady in charge, noticing his plain appearance, directed him to the kitchen door, where, meekly complying, he received the butter and departed. Shortly after Miss H. learned the name of her visitor, and was much chagrined at the mistake. W. H.

Elisabeth.

AN AUTHOR WANTED—[V. 376, VI. 64] I have in my possession a volume, entitled "Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse," by Lydia Huntley. Hartford. Sheldon & Goodwin, Printers. 1815. It contains 267 pages. Lydia Huntley was afterwards Mrs. Sigourney. This edition was issued to subscribers, the whole number of which was a few over 900, among which may be found the names of Samuel G. Goodrich, Joseph Trumbull, John Trumbull, Nathaniel Terry, John A. Hillhouse, Benjamin Silliman, David Humphreys, Richard Alsop, Abiel Holmes, Daniel Waldo, and many other noted persons.

Worcester

CLARK JILLSON

THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG RAISED IN THE BRITISH CHANNEL—[V. 220, 459] Never having seen Commodore Preble's work on the United States Flag I know not what he says about Gustavus Conyngham's "Stripes." I infer that he is silent from the fact that Dr. Wm. H. Egle, in his valuable Notes and Queries, p. 130, asks the same question as G. H. P. "whether the flag contained the rattlesnake emblem or the stars?" I am satisfied that it contained neither. Conyngham raised the *Stars and Stripes* in the privateer *Revenge* after the capture or seizure by France of the *Surprise*. It was on the *Revenge* that the English captain, pointing to the flag, asked Conyngham contemptuously, "What do you mean by those stars and stripes." Conyngham replied, "the stars are emblematical of my country, but the stripes are for her enemies." But that the flag which was flying at the mast-head of the *Surprise*

when she captured the Harwich packet was simply what D. H. Conyngham calls "the Flag or Stripes," is corroborated by two singular witnesses. When the packet was captured England became vocal with the cry of "Pirates," and Conyngham was lampooned and caricatured all over the kingdom as a pirate.

The most hideous prints and engravings of "the pirate Cuninham" were made in England and Holland. One of these represents him in his vessel amid the smoke of battle with an enormous cutlass in his hand and *six* large pistols in his belt—himself a giant in stature. One is a half length picture with Captain Conyngham's flag as a background. The flag consists of simply *thirteen stripes* of red and thirteen of white. Under the portrait is this inscription, "Engraved from the original sketch which was taken by an artist of eminence and stuck up in the English Coffee House at Dunkirk."

Another represents the "Surprise" with an ensign of *thirteen stripes* each of red and white, flying from the gaff. Under this engraving occurs this inscription in Dutch, "Een Engelsche Paket boot door een Americaansche kaaper genomen den 2 Maj A° 1777. A Fokke simonoy Excudit." These prints are very rare. A set of them is in the possession of Mr. John S. Barnes, of New York City.

They evidently settle the character of the flag which the *Surprise* bore. At least until the flag itself is discovered, and found to be other than *the stripes*.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

At the March meeting of the New England Historic Genealogic Society the Librarian reported numerous additions to the collections, including a complete set of the Boston Daily Advertiser, from 1851 to 1875. The paper read was by Rev. Charles E. Lord on the Huguenots. Assistance was requested by the Eliot Memorial Association to complete the memorial to John Eliot.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting on the 15th March. The deaths were reported of two of the most venerable of its members, John Chipman Gray and George Barrell Emerson, and interesting memoirs of each were verbally presented by the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Mr. Gray is known in literature as the author of a volume published in 1856, containing essays on Dante and Demosthenes, which originally appeared in the North American Review, and several papers on horticulture, which was his favorite study. Mr. Emerson also was deeply interested in natural history, and was one of the founders, and at one time the president of, the Boston Natural History Society. In conjunction with Professor Dewey, he prepared the report on the shrubs and trees of Massachusetts, which he revised and published in two sumptuous volumes in 1875. He served the cause of education in many capacities, and held high reputation as an instructor. Both of these gentlemen were graduates of Harvard; Mr. Gray of the class of 1811 and Mr. Emerson of that of 1817.

The chief feature of the meeting was

the reading of a paper by the reverend Dr. George E. Ellis, suggested by Whit-tier's poem, *The King's Missive*, which has been the occasion of a graceful controversy between the critic and the poet in the columns of the Boston Daily Advertiser, the subject being the treatment of the Quakers by the Puritans. We presume these papers will appear in a connected form, when they will receive further consideration.

The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology held its fourteenth annual meeting in March. The 8th of October next will be the fifteenth anniversary of Mr. Peabody's munificent bequest. The principal, \$150,000, is untouched. The museum, which contains twenty-five thousand objects, most of which are arranged and cased, is free to the public. President Eliot of Harvard has made an appeal for \$100,000, as an additional endowment for this admirable institution.

The Dedham, Mass., Historical Society held its annual meeting March 2d, and elected officers for the current year. President, Henry O. Hildreth; Secretary, Rev. Carlos Slafter.

At the regular monthly meeting of the New York Historical Society, held March 1st, an extremely interesting and amusing paper was read by the Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, late President of Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky, entitled "Candidating; or, Old Time Methods and Humors of Office-seeking in the Southwest." We heartily commend this lecture, which will be

found attractive to any class of audience, and should be repeated. Societies, desiring an entertaining paper, will do well to call this gentleman to their halls. A letter was also read from Dr. A. Fischell of Amsterdam, formerly resident of New York, presenting to the Society a Dutch pamphlet explaining the Dutch side of the Transvaal controversy.

The Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society met, at their rooms in the Westmoreland Club-house, March 7th, when a mould was authorized to be made of the bust of James Madison, presented to the Society some years since by John Willis of Orange. It was taken from life in 1821 by one Brauer, who in the same year executed a bust of Thomas Jefferson. That of Madison has been pronounced to be an excellent likeness, and the mould is intended for copies in plaster for the purpose of exchange by the Society.

The Georgia Historical Society held its monthly meeting in Hodgson Hall, Savannah, March 7th, when an instructive essay was read by Capt. W. G. Waller of the editorial staff of the Savannah Morning News, entitled "One Hour in Costa Rica." At the meeting it was resolved to sell the Society's house in Bryan street. We trust that this does not imply that the Historical Society of the Empire State of the South is to be without a home of its own.

The Rockland County (New York) Historical and Forestry Society met, at the Rockland County Journal office, Tuesday, February 23d, and elected a

number of new members. In the afternoon an address was delivered, under its auspices, at the Baptist Church, by Erastus Brooks upon "Arnold, the American Traitor; André, the British Spy; Washington, the Defender of Constitutional Liberty, the Father of his Country, the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army."

At the March meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., called the attention of the Society to the discovery of an early Pennsylvania printer, Tiberius Johnson. An almanac for the year 1705, of sixteen leaves, numbered and without signatures, bears his name; probably a unique copy. Johnson is supposed to have been the son of Renier Jansen, who took the place of William Bradford during the latter's residence in New York.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society held its twenty-second annual meeting at its library in Wilkesbarre on the 11th February, and elected officers; President, Charles A. Minet; Secretary, E. L. Dana. A paper was read by Steuben Jenkins on the Troubles between the Pennamites and Yankees in their dispute for the possession of Wyoming Valley in 1783 and 1784.

The Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, has issued a circular note to correct the exaggerated accounts of the damage done its library and museum by the burning of the capitol. In fact the greater part of the library, 9,000 bound and 1,300 unbound volumes, was saved

by the personal energy of its friends; all the archæological cabinet also; and the valuable manuscripts passed the ordeal safely. The losses were fully covered by insurance, and are of a class of books which can be replaced. The assistance of kindred societies is requested to aid in making new sets of their respective publications.

The Yorktown Centennial Association has been recently incorporated under the laws of Virginia. Its object is to assist in the celebration of the surrender. Among the incorporators are some of the most distinguished gentlemen in the country. Its purpose is first to arrange for a proper representation from each of the old thirteen States, and secondly to secure the ground of the surrender, which has been selected for the site of the monument ordered by Congress as a perpetual park, the property to be vested in the United States. There is, we understand, an alternate plan on the model of the Mount Vernon Association. We suggest that the most feasible manner of reaching the desired end is to organize a popular subscription limited to five dollars, for which a certificate of perpetual membership might be given to each subscriber.

A highly finished head of Washington by Gilbert Stuart, painted in 1810, for a Bostonian, is for sale at the Art Museum, Boston, price \$1,500. We shall be happy to supply any further information.

The limited edition of Dr. John Gilmary Shea's Description of Louisiana, by Father Louis Hennepin, recently

announced in these pages, has been entirely taken up by Western buyers. This learned scholar now proposes to publish, by subscription, a translation of Le Clerq's *Establishment de la Foi*, one of the very rarest Americana, never reprinted or hitherto translated. It relates in great part to La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi, and gives an account of the Franciscans in Canada. The edition is limited to 250 copies.

In an address upon the Centennial of the Siege of Yorktown Dr. Du Hamel, of Washington, D. C., says: "On the last day, as the last line of the works were stormed, Colonel de Lameth, the Adjutant-General to Lafayette, was the first to mount the parapet. He received a volley from the Hessians who defended it, and was shot through both knees; he fell back and was conveyed away by his friend Colonel Dumas and Surgeon Du Hamel, a surgeon of the French navy."

A new Prime Meridian for the world, 180 degrees from Greenwich, proposed by Sanford Fleming, late chief engineer of the Canada Pacific Railway, and the adoption of a standard time of reckoning, have been endorsed by the Russian Imperial Academy of Science, but the English and Scotch Astronomers Royal object on the ground of the long usage of the Greenwich Meridian.

In the Notes and Queries, published in the Harrisburgh Daily Telegraph, there is a sharp protest against the numerous errors and omissions in Hamersley's Late Army Register of the United States from 1775 to 1879. We

have called attention to errors in names of Revolutionary officers. Mr. Egle complains justly that in this respect the Pennsylvania line has been hardly used.

In January last, Speaker Randall laid before the House of Representatives a communication from the Secretary of State with the information that the department had been tendered by Benjamin F. Stevens, dispatch agent of the United States, at London, "Henry Stevens' Franklin Collection of manuscripts and books." This is chiefly composed of the original manuscripts bequeathed by Benjamin Franklin to his grandson, William Temple Franklin. The price set is £5,000. Mr. John Bigelow, in his autobiography of Franklin, describes the manner in which part of Franklin's manuscripts were mutilated by his legatee. These now offered are the suppressed portion.

In the Notes and Queries published by the Richmond Standard, the question as to whether Sally or Molly Cary was the object of Washington's early love, is discussed by J. D. M. Richmond. As Washington was but sixteen in 1748, when Sally Cary was married to George William Fairfax, Mr. Richmond inclines to the belief that it was Mary, married to Edward Ambler in 1754, who inspired the ardent passion in Washington's breast. Washington married the widow Custis subsequent to that date.

Josiah Caleff Bartlett of Taunton, Mass., has presented to the Dartmouth

College Gallery a portrait of his great grandfather, Josiah Bartlett, signer of the Declaration of Independence, last President and first Governor of New Hampshire. The original painting by Trumbull is at Stratford, N. H., in the possession of the Bartlett family.

Dr. Delafield Dwight celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday in Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., on the 14th January last. He is a descendant of John Dwight, who, in 1634 or 1635, emigrated from Oldham, England, and settled in Dedham, Mass. Seven years ago over eight thousand lineal descendants from this first settler were reckoned. None had reached the age of the venerable doctor.

A general catalogue of Dartmouth College has been issued. This famous institution was chartered in 1709. Its first class of four pupils was graduated in 1771. Since then, 4,275 young men have received diplomas. Its rolls abound in names of men who have held high posts of honor in the country.

Hannibal Brown, an old negro, brought to the United States from Africa about 1820, was frozen to death in his cabin near Warrenton Junction last week. He always claimed that his father was a King, who wore many jewels and owned many men. True to his ancestry, he sided with the slave-holders during the war and was at one time imprisoned in the old capitol at Washington.

The expenses of the White House for the past year are summed up in a grand total, including all salaries from that of

the President downward to the furnace keeper, at \$119,964. It is high time that the President were provided with an Executive office in the neighborhood of the departments, and the uses of the White House confined to that of personal residence. This double use of the same building as an executive mansion and a private residence, with its consequent confusion of public officials and private domestics, is out of all keeping with the spirit of our institutions; to say nothing of the back stairs and female influence which it necessarily involves. If women are to take part in politics let them come in by the front door. Let us have a President's home and an Executive bureau. The question is not one of cost, but of principle.

A financial writer, in the New York Tribune asserts that "no stock, or bond, or government pledge of any nature was ever made by any nation on earth at three per cent. that the public bought at par, or that was ever maintained at par, nor will such stock or bond ever be issued until the accumulated wealth of the world be increased by many fold." We shall see. It is after all a mere question of demand and supply. With a rapidly reducing volume and the demand consequent upon the enormous accumulation of savings in the United States, the time is not distant when the United States three per cents will stand invariably above par.

The Lenox Library has issued a complete annotated catalogue of its Shakespeares and Shakespeariana. It contains six hundred and twenty-six numbers.

The admirable critic of the Boston Daily Advertiser notices the strange fact Dr. Allibone's catalogue discloses "that Mr. Lenox had to content himself with a set of the first American Shakespeare, deficient in one of its eight volumes." The curious in Shakespeare bibliography will do well to consult the Boston review (Daily Advertiser, Jan. 26th).

Mother Shipton's prophecy that about this time the world is to come to an end, again published and corroborated by the alarming statements that the Newton comet is close at hand, rushing towards the sun at the rate of two hundred miles a second, was thoroughly exploded before the press had fairly got wind of it. The official astronomers of the national observatory see no signs of a comet, and Mother Shipton is shown to have been quite innocent in the matter, the prediction in question having been fraudulently ascribed to her by one Hindley, of Brighton, England, in 1873. The end is not yet.

The house in which President James Monroe died, July 4th, 1831, a small two-story building in Prince Street, New York, east of Crosby Street, is still standing. A reminder of the suffering of the brave old man, who for fifty years had served his country in camp and council, may stimulate our legislators to make suitable provision for retired Presidents.

The statue of Farragut, intended for Madison Square, New York, is approaching completion. A pedestal is nearly finished. It is said to be a creditable work of art.

There is a dispute between the Puritans and Quakers as to which were the first brewers of beer in America. The Philadelphians claim that in 1690 they had three brewers. The records of New Amsterdam show that its brewers resisted the enforcement of a tax upon beer laid by Keith, in 1644, when the beverage of the complainants was confiscated for the use of the soldiers.

Baltimore has a monument near a century old to Christopher Columbus. It is on the property known as Belmont. Nothing definite is known of it, but the legend is that it was built by the French Consul, Charles Francis Adrien de Paulmier, who occupied the estate from 1789 to 1796. It is a shaft fifty feet high, of brick plastered, and bearing the date of 1792.

The powder horn found on the body of Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President, who was killed by Indians, has been presented to the Lincoln Memorial Association of Springfield, Illinois. It bears the owner's name, and an eagle with spread wings carved in bold relief. The Kentucky stream, which was the scene of the massacre, has been known ever since as Linkhorn's Run.

A controversy has arisen in Rhode Island concerning certain lands conveyed by deed by Ninegrete, chief Sachem of the Narragansett tribe, to the colony of Providence Plantations in 1709. Certain persons now appear, claiming a lineal descent from Ninegrete, who declare themselves the owners of a part of the land reserved in the

original sale. They say that the Indian council recognized their claim to these lands sometime since; but they cannot yet show a proper title because they were not "turfed and twigged." It seems that the Indian ceremony of confirmation of title consisted in placing on the owners' head a crown made of turf, ornamented with twigs and flowers, the owner standing at the time on the land claimed. The subject is now before the Indian commission.

The Newburyport Herald repudiates the old story that Lord Timothy Dexter made his fortune by sending warming pans to the West Indies, and says, upon the authority of a Boston antiquarian, that it was stated by Dexter himself to be a hoax in his Pickle for the Knowing Ones. The fact is said to be that he made his fortune by buying up Continental money. One Joseph Wilson, a ship carver, turned Dexter's personal vanity to account by making wooden images of the eccentric lord, for which he received from him a hundred dollars each. As many as seventy-five are said to have been made. Dexter died in 1806.

The census shows a total population of the United States and Territories of 50,152,554. The bill before Congress for apportionment of the number of representatives fixes the number at 301. New York leads with 31, Pennsylvania follows with 26, and Ohio with 19. Of the cities, New York shows a population of 1,206,590; Philadelphia, 846,984, Brooklyn, 566,689, and Chicago, 503,304. No other city reaches 400,000.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

MEMOIRS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, containing a narrative of the organization and of the early measures of the church. II. Additional Statements and remarks. III. An appendix of original papers. By the Right Rev. WILLIAM WHITE, D.D. Edited with notes and a sketch of Origin and Progress of the Colonial Church, by the Rev. B. F. DE COSTA. Octavo, pp. 474. E. P. DUTTON & Co., New York.

This is the third edition of Bishop White's memoirs of the Church. What it contains of new interest will be found in the characteristic sketch of the colonial church by the learned antiquary in secular and ecclesiastical history, the Rev. Mr. de Costa, whose varied contributions have, since the beginning of this magazine, enriched its pages. To follow the train of thought of this argument our analysis must be divided into two distinct parts, its history by sea and land. The Church of England was identified, we are told, with the progress of the national marine from the earliest times. To sketch its outline of its rise in America, it is therefore necessary to trace the early history of English maritime enterprise. This no one is more competent to do than Mr. de Costa. In Greenland, he tells us, the church was maintained with a line of Bishops for about three hundred years. Through Iceland, where there is evidence of early precise information of occurrences which affected the church in England, Greenland is held to have had some knowledge on this subject. Cabot, who discovered the American mainland on St. John's Day, 1497, is supposed to have had some chaplain, and an entry is found in King Henry's private purse to the effect that two pounds were paid to a priest going to the island. One of the earliest recorded cases of the administration of the Holy Communion was upon the death of the Licentiate Ayllon in the Carolinas in 1526. Weymouth, who made a voyage to New England, and discovered Pentecost Harbor, Maine, 1605, had church services regularly performed on board his ship, at which "the natives were often in attendance, being deeply impressed." Crosses also were set up. From 1605 the agency of churchmen in colonization appears more plainly. There is no doubt that the colonists of Sir John Popham and of Sir Ferdinando Gorges were of the English faith, and the honor of having preached the first sermon in New England belongs to the Rev. Richard Seymour, minister of the English Church. Hudson also, who discovered Hudson's

River, N. Y., in 1609, was an Englishman and a communicant of the church. Hakluyt and Purchase, conspicuous in the advocacy of colonization, were both Church of England worthies. Hakluyt declares his prime object to be "to plant Christian religion," and in 1622, near Massachusetts Bay, churchmen were the first colonists; Thomas Morton at Merrymount, as early as 1622. Even Winthrop's company of 1630, on leaving England, disavowed all designs of separation, and declared that they esteemed it "an honor to call the Church of England Dear Mother," and the settlement at Boston the same year was largely aided by the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the rector of Dorchester. The bishop said that he would emigrate and engage in the work personally, but for his advanced age. In this argument, which is here briefly stated, and as nearly as possibly in Mr. de Costa's own words, he endeavors to prove that New England owes her origin to the church. The puritans, however, soon got the better of the strict conformists, and set the mark of Calvinism on American institutions. It was not till 1662, up to which time churchmen enjoyed no favor, and to use Mr. de Costa's words "intolerance reigned within the limits of the Massachusetts Government," that a royal proclamation secured liberty of worship according to the English form. In 1640 the first regular church of England organization was organized in the New Hampshire patent. In 1682 King's Chapel was built at Boston. So much for New England. We cannot follow Mr. de Costa through the history of the church in the southern colonies. In New York, under the Dutch rule, religious freedom prevailed; in 1700, the English legislated against Jesuits and all Roman ecclesiastics, and their services were forbidden by law until the adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York in 1777. The establishment of the Church of England in New York has long been a matter of dispute among the doctors. Those who would see the Presbyterian view, in which our judgment accords, will find it conclusively stated in Dr. Baird's *Status of the Presbyterians* printed in this magazine [III. 597]. The chapter closes with a short sketch of Bishop White, a native of Philadelphia, born in 1747 [o. s.]. Graduated from the College of Philadelphia at the age of 17, he adopted the sacred profession. After preliminary theological study under the guidance of Drs. Peters and Mr. Duché, he sailed for England, and in 1770 was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Norwich. In 1772 he was ordained to the priesthood and returned to Philadelphia, where he was elected assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peters. On the outbreak of the revolution, faithful among the faith-

less of his denomination, he sided with the colonists. In 1777 he was appointed Chaplain of the Continental Congress. Fortunate for the Episcopal Church in America was his patriotism. At the peace he was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania; he was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, London, 1787. Returning to America he arrived in New York on Easter Sunday of the same year. Easter Day, 1787, therefore, will, in the words of Mr. de Costa, possess a peculiar significance as marking the renaissance of the American Episcopal Church. Yet how a new birth can be properly ascribed to an organization which is not proven to have previously existed is not clear. Bishop White died July 17, 1836. He is recognized, and justly, as the father of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

LA NORAMBÈGUE. DECOUVERTE

D'UNE QUATRIÈME COLONIE PRÉCOLOMBIENNE DANS LE NOUVEAU-MONDE, AVEC DES PREUVES DE SON ORIGINE SCANDINAVE FOURNIES PAR LA LANGUE, LES INSTITUTIONS ET LES CROYANCES DES INDIGÈNES DE L'ACADIE (NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE, NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK ET ÉTAT DU MAINE). Par M. EUG. BEAUVOIS, l'un des présidents de la troisième session du Congrès des Américanistes à Bruxelles. Octavo, pp. 42. F. HAYEZ. Bruxelles, 1880.

This is an extract of a paper read before the third Congress of the Americanists, held at Brussels in 1879, by one of its presidents, a gentleman distinguished for his original researches in this dim but interesting field. Some idea has been entertained by the Americanists, not perhaps generally shared, that three colonies were founded in the new world before Columbus made his first voyage. The oldest of these, Great Ireland, or the Country of the White Men, was already inhabited towards the close of the tenth century by the Papas or Scotch Irish Monks, and was continued at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century, when it was visited by a shipwrecked Frislander, who made a report of it which was preserved by the Zeni; neither its origin or situation was determined. M. Beauvois treated this subject in two papers read before the first and second sessions of Congress. The second colony was Greenland, where the Icelanders settled themselves in 986, three years after the discovery of the country; it is well known to the Scandinavians. It was the subject of an essay by the same learned archaeologist. The third colony—that of Vinland to the northeast of the United States, is best known by the picturesque reports made of it. Some light may, it is hoped, be thrown upon the history of this

colony by a study of the natives of the Armonchiquois, who were indigenous to this part of the United States.

M. Beauvois now claims to have discovered the distance of a fourth sedentary settlement in Norumbega—where, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reminiscences of Christianity and ancient crosses were found, and also the remains of the old language of the Northmen (Norrain); the air of the song of a Northman and a fable of a monster which belongs to Scandinavian mythology; these facts are the subject of the present memoir. Now the mysterious name of Norumbega appears and disappears in the course of the sixteenth century, but no voyager has left any account of the fortified city. Those curious on this subject will do well to recur to the article on the Lost City published in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1877, [I, 14].

Champlain says that the existence of the country of Norumbega rests upon tradition. He sought for it in vain and doubted its existence, yet M. Beauvois finds in the old cross which the navigator saw on the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy, a positive proof of the belief which he discredited, and another more striking proof in the Scandinavian tradition which Champlain himself transmits as perpetuated at the time of his visit among the indigenous natives of Acadia. We cannot follow the learned essayist through his line of argument, but we add that by an examination of the writers and geographers of the sixteenth century he finds the name of Norumbega to have been written in twelve different ways. The Scandinavian traditions appear among the Acadians. The fable of Gongon has no precise counterpart in Scandinavia, but M. Beauvois considers that it may yet be found one of the innumerable mythic tales of northern Europe.

The field which he marks out for American investigation is the relation between Greenland and Markland; he appeals to American archaeologists to discover, classify and study the remains of bygone ages which lie beneath the soil of Scotland, New Brunswick and Maine, until when the European cannot undertake a comparison of Scandinavian and Acadian antiquities.

MEMOIRS OF MY EXILE. By LOUIS KOSUTH. Translated from the Original Hungarian. By FERENCZ JANSZ. 16mo, pp. 446. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1880.

Excellent as is this translation, we almost regret that Kossuth had not written his memories in the English tongue. Those whose privilege it was to hear his glowing appeals for American aid in the Hungarian struggle for nationality, will never forget the novel and peculiar uses of

what may be termed English root language. His reminiscences begin with the surrender at Világos, when, crossing the frontier, he gave up his sword to a Turkish official. His touching description of his feelings as he stood on the eastern banks of the Danube, prepare one for the glowing chapters which follow. He considers the sphere of the exertion of Hungarian refugees, was to convince Europe that the independence of Hungary was necessary to the liberties of Europe, and he holds that the rapid victory of Prussia over Austria was the immediate cause of Austro-Hungarian dualism. He confesses that the nation has decided against him, but with the tenacity of his character still maintains that he was right. His chapters begin with the Italian war of 1859, and an account is given of the diplomatic campaign, the chief feature of which was the meeting at Plombières of Napoleon and Cavour in 1858. This was the prologue of the drama enacted on Italian soil, the closing scene in which was the peace of Villafranca. In the war which followed the memorable interview, the attitude of Hungary, over whom the Hungarian refugees exercised a controlling influence, was of vast importance, and their leaders were approached by both belligerents. But their action was counteracted by the diplomatic influence and the coldness of England. Travelling incognito under the name of George Brown, Kossuth visited Paris in May, 1859, and had a preliminary conference with Prince Napoleon, and an interview with the Emperor on the night of the 5th of May. It is interesting here to note the self-confidence of Kossuth in his own statement to the Emperor that he would take upon himself to overthrow the administration of Lord Derby on the question of the foreign policy. At the close of this meeting Kossuth, Teleki and Klapka constituted themselves into the National Hungarian Directory. On his return to England, Kossuth began a series of speeches at public meetings all over the kingdom. At their close the Tory ministry was overthrown, a new cabinet was formed by Lord Palmerston, and the neutrality of England was secured. A Hungarian legion was formed in the Sardinian army, which in a general order of June 17, received the name of the Hungarian army of Italy. It consisted of a thousand men in two battalions under the command of Ihasz. On the 3d of July, 1859, Kossuth had another interview with the Emperor, in which Napoleon declared that any victory in Italy would be incomplete without the assurance of the independence of Hungary. Kossuth made it an indispensable preliminary of an Hungarian rising, that a French army should be sent to Hungary. On the 22d the Hungarian committee sent to his colleagues in Hungary to prepare them for an active participation in the war. On the 3d of July, after the battle of Solferino, Kossuth had a further meeting with the Em-

peror, when it was agreed that should Napoleon be compelled to make peace, he would either send an army to Hungary and call the nation to arms or refrain from any attempt to foment an insurrection. The treaty of Villafranca secured an amnesty to all, on either side, compromised by the war with their respective governments. The Hungarian army in Italy was dissolved, and with a bleeding heart Kossuth returned to England. His letter of gratitude to his English and Scotch friends of the 24th of Sept., 1859, closes the volume, which is an authoritative addition to the historic literature of this exciting period.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ANDOVER

(comprising the present towns North Andover and Andover). By SARAH LORING BAILEY. Octavo, pp. 626. Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. Boston, Mass., 1880.

We find here a comprehensive history of this ancient academy town of the commonwealth, beginning with the prehistoric period, of which some glimpses remain in rock records, and brought down to the present day. The locality in which it is built has been known since 1604 as the valley of the Merrimac (place of swift water), or of Shawshir (the great spring), and the story of its founders has its beginning in the town Agawam or Ipswich, 1639. Its first deed is dated in 1643; with the neighboring settlement of Haverhill, it is mentioned in "Good News" from New England. The first formal description of it is found in Captain Edward Johnson's wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England, published in London, 1654. It was incorporated, however, in 1646, and took its name from the town of Andover, Hants County, England, the home of its principal settlers. Simon Bradstreet, the husband of Ann Dudley Bradstreet, was the most influential citizen in the early settlement, and his son, Col. Dudley Bradstreet, followed in his footsteps. Among the other earlier settlers were John Osgood, John Stevens and George Abbot, all founders of large and respected families. The chapters on Andover in the earlier Indian wars, in the witchcraft excitement, and in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, are full of material which the historian will do well to consult. In the later chapters may be found sketches of her churches and ministers, her public schools and libraries, her academies and theological seminaries, and passing to material things, a sketch of her mills and manufactures. The volume is prefaced by a steel engraved portrait of Simon Bradstreet, and some heliotype sketches of the houses of noted inhabitants, among which the old Bradstreet house; Abbot's tavern, where Washington breakfasted in 1789; the home of Col. Samuel John-

son, of the 4th Mass. Regiment; the birthplace of Samuel Osgood, first Postmaster-General; of Col. James Frye, of the French and Indian wars. The Phillips manse, the home of the widely known family of this name, is the richest in relics of colonial grandeur. This family descend from the Rev. George Phillips, who settled here as the pastor of the old South Church in 1710, and with a careful eye to his temporal interests obtained large grants of land in the neighboring townships, which were the foundation of the fortunes of the family. Coming down to later days we find the picture of the birth-place of the late Major General Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, an old colonial building remodeled. The chapter on the Theological Seminary is illustrated with seven portraits of the Phillips family, all founders or benefactors of institutions of learning and religion. The influence of the Andover Theological Seminary, orthodox of the orthodox, has been second to none upon the religious thought of the country.

The illustrations show a marked advance in the heliotype process. The volume is in every way worthy of the attention of students, and should find a place in every historical collection.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS,
No. 9. **A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF THE PLAN FORMED AT ALBANY IN 1754 FOR UNITING ALL THE BRITISH NORTHERN COLONIES IN ORDER TO THEIR COMMON SAFETY AND DEFENCE.** By STEPHEN HOPKINS. With introduction and notes by SIDNEY S. RIDER. Small 4to, pp. 65. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1880.

"The True Representation" was first published at Providence on the 29th of March, 1755, and was at once answered in a paper entitled "A Short Reply by an Anonymous Writer," under the name 'Philolethes,' on the 10th April of the same year. Both pamphlets are here textually reproduced. They are among the earliest, if not the very earliest, political pamphlets issued in Rhode Island. The introduction of Mr. Rider is a brief memoir of the Rhode Island Commissioner, whom he styles the ablest man of his time within her borders.

The necessity of a mutual accord among the northern colonies for the defence of their extended frontier from the incursions of the numerous and powerful savage tribes which dwelt beyond them, suggested a meeting of this first Congress, which was the forerunner of all of those more memorable which followed it and finally achieved the idea there crudely conceived. Albany was the natural meeting place for such a body; from the earliest colonial period it had been the place of conference and of treaties between the European settlements and the Indian

tribes, and it lay just below the natural strategic point of defence and the great carrying place or natural bridge between the water communication of Canada and the then western frontier. It was at this meeting of the commissioners from eight colonies that Franklyn submitted the plan of union for the mutual defence and security of the colonies and for the *extending the British settlements in North America*. This phrase it may be here remarked is significant of the strong national spirit and tendency which even then actuated the minds and directed the action of the colonies. The plan included one general government to be formed in America for the whole, within and under which each to retain its existing constitution, except so far as altered by the act of Parliament which should establish such general government. A President-General to be appointed and supported by the crown, a Grand Council to be chosen by the General Assemblies in each colony. The proportion of members for the Grand Council, 48 in number, shows the relative strength of the colonies: Massachusetts, 7; New Hampshire, 2; Connecticut, 5; Rhode Island, 2; New York, 4; New Jersey, 3; Pennsylvania, 6; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 7; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 4. This plan in its details mainly accords with the present form of the government of the United States. It was transmitted to the English Government, but was never so much as reported to the British colonies.

A COPY OF THE POLL LIST OF THE ELECTION FOR REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK: WHICH ELECTION BEGAN ON TUESDAY, 17TH DAY OF FEB., AND ENDED ON THURSDAY, THE 19TH OF THE SAME MONTH, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD MDCCLXI. Small 4to, pp. 42.

A COPY OF THE POLL LIST, ETC., OF THE ELECTION WHICH BEGAN MONDAY, THE 7TH, AND ENDED FRIDAY, THE 11TH OF MARCH, MDCCLXVIII. Small 4to, pp. 56.

A COPY OF THE POLL LIST OF THE ELECTION, ETC., WHICH BEGAN MONDAY, 23D, AND ENDED FRIDAY, 27TH OF JANUARY, MDCCLXIX. Small 4to, pp. 43, 1880.

Only fifty copies of these three elegantly printed and bound little volumes were printed for our munificent biblioplist, Mr. S. Whitney Phoenix. By FRANCIS HART & Co., from a copy of the original edition for private distribution. They contain information of value in genealogic inquiry.

HISTORY OF NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS, TOWN AND CITY, FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME, 1630-1880. By S. F. SMITH, D.D. Octavo, pp. 851. THE AMERICAN LOGOTYPE COMPANY. Boston, Mass., 1880.

This history originated in an order given in town meeting, 1865. In its compilation Jackson's manual and other published material, with the Jackson and Ward manuscripts, and numerous genealogical tables, have been used. It is impossible to give even an analysis of the fifty-nine chapters which make up this solid volume. Newton numbers nine or ten villages, which for two centuries were as distinct as separate towns. In its earlier stages its history was intimately connected with that of Boston. It made part of Cambridge until 1689, but was called New Cambridge in some of the deeds as early as 1679. In 1691 the name Newtown was given to it by the General Court, or rather restored to it, as it appears to have been so called in the court record in 1631. It was not till 1766 that the w was dropped, and the present spelling adopted. Every possible scrap of information connected with its history is packed within those pages, from the stories of the first settlers to those of its present solid citizens, prominent among whom two Governors of the Commonwealth, William Claflin, a resident, and Alexander H. Rice, a native of Newtown Lower Falls. The Rev. S. F. Smith is best known to the country as the author of the popular song America.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CIVIL LIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK. By STEPHEN P. HUTCHINS. 8vo, pp. 128. WEED, PARSONS & Co. Albany, 1879.

This pamphlet is comprised of selections from the work the title of which it indicates. In this *Civil List* the growth of each department of the government is traced; the changes and development of the constitution of New York shown; and in the words of the author the fact is demonstrated that the government of the State of New York "is the model system of organic liberty in the world." The present introduction is an examination into the progress of human liberty from the time of the earliest Aryan communities down to the present day. The chapter on the Constitution of the Colony shows the close analogy between the conflicts of Parliament with the crown and those of the colonial assemblies with their Royal Government. The charter of liberties passed by the General Assembly of 1691 declared the right and privileges of the

colonies of New York. Though vetoed in 1697 because of what were termed "its great and unreasonable privileges" and its "large and doubtful expressions," and never acknowledged by the crown, its spirit was closely adhered to throughout the long struggle which terminated in independence, and the despotism attempted over the province was effectually curbed by the obstinate resistance of the Assembly and its continuous refusal to vote supplies unless on each occasion a fresh recognition of popular rights was obtained. A chapter on Colonial Confederacies correctly assigns the Pequot War of 1637 to be the origin of the union of the Eastern colonies. This first confederacy included Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven; Providence and Rhode Island were excepted because of their want of accord with the religious and civil administration of the rest. In 1690 a convention met in New York to agree on a plan for the invasion of Canada. Delegates were present from Massachusetts, Plymouth and New York. In 1745 a conference with Indians was held at Albany; present, commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. In 1754 a convention assembled at Albany to renew a treaty with the six nations to unite upon a scheme of defence against the French. There were delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. The Stamp Act Congress met in New York in 1765. The chapter on the constitution of New York is a succinct account of its changes from the time of its substantial recognition, although not secure establishment, until the revision of the organic law by the convention of 1867. An account of the changes in the elective franchise, and of the safeguards set around it by the registration and inspection laws, concludes the succinct and lucid narrative.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE DINNER OF THE EARLY MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1880. 16mo, pp. 116. New York, 1880.

The proceedings of this meeting are full of interest in their reminiscences of the patriotic action of the gentlemen of New York, who in this effective manner demonstrated the loyalty of the higher classes of society, called in question even at home, to the Union and the Government. Addresses were made by Mr. Jay, for a long time its President; Dr. Bellows; Mr. Charles J. Stillé, author of the famous pamphlet, *How a Great Nation Carries on a Long War*; the Secretaries of War and Navy, and numerous New York gentlemen. We note here the error of the claim made or repeated by Mr. Stillé,

that the Union League Club was the parent of the Union League. The Loyal National League was the first to apply the league principle in public affairs. The first pledge of unconditional loyalty to the Government, and to maintain the national integrity, was drawn by the writer of these lines, and posted for public signature on the bulletins of the Evening Post and New York Tribune, where it was signed by thousands of people, who, on summons, met at the Cooper Institute, and organized The Loyal National League. Its purpose was to demonstrate the loyalty of the citizens of New York, and put an end to temporizing schemes. It was an open body. The Union League, which succeeded it, was a political organization with closed doors. The Union League Club, a social organization, independent of either. Each did good service, but the idea originated as has been stated.

NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER WRITERS IN NEW ENGLAND, 1787 TO 1815.

Read before the New England Historical Genealogical Society, February 4, 1880, by DELANO A. GODDARD. 8vo, pp. 39. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1880.

In this beautifully printed monograph may be found an intelligible record of the political controversies which followed the adoption of the constitution of 1789, and continued with a virulence without parallel in our later history, unless in the struggle from which the country has just emerged. He who would understand the story of parties must search the newspapers from the middle of the last century and well into the present. Public opinion in England and America was expressed in the columns of newspapers by the ablest writers. Enough to mention Sir Philip Francis and Wilkes in England, Hamilton and Madison in the United States. Mr. Goddard opened his sketch with the stately epitaph on the Death of the Federal Administration, printed in the *Columbian Centinel*, 4th of March, 1801, when Jefferson took his seat in the Presidential chair, and the federal party, which had given a constitution to the nation, fell in the house of its friends. In this, as in all the recitals of the controversy, the natural animosity of the middle class to Great Britain does not receive sufficient weight. The *Columbian Centinel*, established June, 1784, was a marked advance over the stately but prosy journal which preceded it. Benjamin Russell, its founder and editor, fought the battles of the Constitution with aggressive spirit, and was aided by Higginson, Ames and Cabot with vigor and ability. Contemporary with the *Centinel*, and equally extreme, were the old *Boston Gazette*, founded in 1719, and the pillar of the Whigs during the Revolution, and the Independent

Chronicle, which, after opposing the institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, resisted the Constitution because of its aristocratic tendency, and became the leading organ in New England of the democratic school of politics. The *Spy*, published at Worcester by Isaiah Thomas, was of a different order, controlled by the sedate and tempered wisdom of his well-balanced mind. The *Boston Patriot*, directed by David Everett, supported Madison, opposed the Federalist, and in its columns John Adams published the series of letters in vindication of his public life; in them appeared bitter reviews of the work of that most graceful of New England orators, Fisher Ames. In 1791 Philip Freneau, a devoted servant of Jefferson, who supplied the sinews of war by employing him in the State Department, made a brief sensation in the *National Gazette*, and spared not even Washington himself in his espousal of the animosities of his chief. Mr. Goddard's sympathies are with the Federal party. Neither the Federal nor the Democratic party deserve the invectives which were heaped upon them. The Constitution of 1789 has been proved by the test of time to be strong enough for self-preservation, and sufficiently pliable for every emergency.

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE

STATUE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 20, 1880.
By Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW. 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1880.

In this brilliant tribute to the Founder of the Republic, as Hamilton is appropriately termed, there is nothing of appreciation or of eulogy with which we are not in fullest sympathy. To his wonderful power of original organization, and his clear understanding of the details of administration, the smooth working of the co-ordinate branches of our government are chiefly due. But the charge of neglect of this, her greatest, citizen does not justly lie at the door of New York. No name is spoken with greater pride, none commands a higher respect. Twice our citizens have shown their estimate of his invaluable services, first in the procurement of a full-length portrait by Colonel Trumbull, which, purchased by public subscription, may still be seen in the Halls of the Chamber of Commerce, the noblest effort of the artist's pencil, and among the very best of historical portraits; again in the beautiful statue which adorned the old Merchants' Exchange, but perished in the flames of the great fire of 1835. Moreover, all the monuments of the Central Park have been gifts, as is this statue, which a son of Hamilton presents to the city, and in the deed erects a memorial to the founder of his family. Nor is it in a spirit of animadversion that we notice

a repetition of the traditional anecdotes of Hamilton's youthful power and influence over men, of which the pages of sober history contain no corroboration. On occasions of this character the flight of oratory will ill bear the burden of references and authority, but as such addresses are themselves history, the accuracy of every statement should be sifted of the dross of doubt till only the pure ore of truth remains.

REMINISCENCES OF SARATOGA AND

BALLSTON. By WILLIAM L. STONE. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 451. R. WORTHINGTON. New York, 1880.

The sketches included in this volume, originally printed in the *Daily Saratogian*, under the title of "Saratoga in ye Olden Time," were published in book form in 1875. This is a reprint from the old plates. Its interest is in the sketches it presents of the great summer watering place in its earlier days. Mr. Stone is familiar with this entire section of country, its legends and traditions, and had personal acquaintance with many of the notables who have made it their temporary or permanent residence. The student of history will find most of value in the earlier chapters which relate the visit of Sir William Johnson in 1767, of Washington, Hamilton and Clinton in 1783, and of Mrs. Dwight, a resident of Saratoga, to the battle ground in 1789, whose narrative is given in her own words. Mr. Stone, as his well-known father before him, has devoted a great deal of labor and time to the study of this section of the country, which leads us to express regret that in this he has not corrected the error which appeared in the first edition, viz., that Arnold was not alluded to by Gates in his dispatches to Congress, giving an account of the battle of the 7th of October. On the contrary, Gates mentioned his gallantry on the field with a most praiseworthy magnanimity.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN THE UNITED STATES. A REVIEW OF THE EFFECTS

OF THE CAUCUS SYSTEM UPON THE CIVIL SERVICE AND UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES. By D. C. McMILLAN. With a preface by HORATIO SEYMOUR. 16mo, pp. 198. G. P. PUTNAM & SONS. New York.

A commendatory preface by Mr. Seymour is enough to secure a careful reading of this study of our systems of election. The purpose of the volume is to suggest a plan for a reconstruction of the Caucus and provide an avenue of escape for the "monster" characterized as "The machine." No satisfactory plan for a proper freedom of the primaries has yet been suggested.

Their doors are more firmly closed against outside influences than ever. The campaign club, which proves so effectual in arousing popular enthusiasm at election periods, seems to be rather an obstacle to than a means for reform. The election over, the gentlemen whose personal efforts have been enlisted and whose purses have been taxed for election purposes, are quietly relegated to the second plane, and "the machine" moves on regardless of their wishes or their protests. Without this device the leaders who assume to themselves the distribution of office, if not the assertion of party doctrine, would be compelled to widen the primary organizations and bring themselves under the direct influence of the popular will. A still more difficult question is that of the distribution of offices if the division of parties be limited. If there were but the party of administration and the party of opposition, the general State, city and minor local governments might properly assume the entire legitimate election expenses, and thus the claims of the contributors of money be nullified. But with what justice can such limitation be made? By what right could a participation in such government election fund be denied to a third party? And if to a third, then to how many? It was the complaint of Mr. Webster of the old Whig party that there were too many leaders, or, perhaps more correctly, too many aspirants for leadership. The complaint to-day more justly is, that the leaders are beyond the influence of the best minds of their party. Reform is hardly possible either in administration or in party. So long as a great overruling principle is at stake, minor issues are and must be subordinate. We are of those who believe that our political form has within itself the power and the way to correct its abuses; that no radical changes are necessary; and that, with the assured undisputed triumph of the American principle, of which by turns each and all parties have claimed to be the only true expounders, will come the necessary but less important reform in government administration and party construction.

THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE. 16mo, pp. 118. G. P. PUTNAM & SONS. New York, 1880.

This, if ever there were one, is an historic question. Mr. Canning, in his famous acceptance of the claims put forth by President Monroe in his message of 1823, which asserted as a principle that the American Continents were not thereafter to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, vindicated his policy by saying that he had called "the new world into existence to address the balance of the old." This claim of national protection over all American territory, northern or southern, was practically asserted by the resolution of Con-

gress, which in 1864 declared the presence of French troops on Mexican soil to be incompatible with the interests of the United States. A scheme of such vast importance as the blending of the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific in a channel for the interchange of the products of the two hemispheres could hardly fail to find rivals for its construction; on the one hand, De Lesseps, the successful constructor of the Suez Canal, backed by the surplus capital of the European continent; on the other, American enterprise with less money power, but relying upon the national spirit to hold the control of this new highway of the world under American control.

The pamphlet is a strong argument in favor of this latter policy. The anonymous author justly considers public sentiment in the United States to look forward to the final absorption of the North American Continent within the bounds of the United States. Nay, more, it is safe to prophesy that there are those now living who will see the Northern and Southern American continents united in an acknowledged bond of general policy. The sentiment of the Burnside resolution, that the United States should alone control the Inter-Oceanic Canal is that of the American people.

THE ONE HUNDRED PRIZE QUESTIONS IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND THE ANSWER OF HERMES. HENRY MILES, JR., Montreal, the winner of the first prize. With an appendix containing notes and comments. 12mo, pp. 123. DAWSON BROTHERS. Montreal, 1880.

This pamphlet is an admirable assistance to the student of Canadian History. The answers to the questions propounded in the Canadian Spectator of Montreal in March, 1879, have finally disposed of many debatable questions. Mr. Miles was the winner of the first prize. An appendix contains some critical and illustrated notes on his answers, some addenda and an excellent index of names, persons and places, with an alphabetical list of writers and authorities.

CENTENNIAL OF THE CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ. Oration at Tarrytown, September 23, 1880, by CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW. pp. 31. New York, 1880.

Mr. Depew, the most graceful of our New York orators, lucid in style, rich in imagery with a perfect understanding of the sympathies of his audience, appears at his best on the days of Centennial commemoration, when largest latitude of patriotic expression is in best accord with the spirit of the mass. The story of André was happily told to admiring thousands on the

hundredth anniversary of his capture. But it is a matter of regret that, in his zeal to praise the captors of André, he revived on this occasion the memory of the charge made by Major Talmadge against the purity of their motives. It is incredible Talmadge could not have been actuated by other than purest motives in his opposition as a Congressman to the increase of the pension of the captors.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. HAWTHORNE by HENRY JAMES, Jr. 16mo. pp. 177. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1880.

Mr. James has deservedly earned the reputation of a graceful and polished writer in the field of essay, criticism and fiction, if the last term may be used in regard to his latest literary effort, to which reference will presently be made.

American admirers of Hawthorne, among whom may probably be classed all his readers, with the exception of Mr. James and his school and followers, if he have any, will be painfully surprised to learn from this elaborate critique that their judgment of his excellencies is crude and confused, that he is lacking in imagination; given to bathos, and at times barely escaping the antithesis of the sublime, notably in the Scarlet Letter. While Mr. James is unwilling to deny absolutely that Hawthorne had to a certain extent an exuberance of fancy, a fluency of diction and minor felicity of phrase and expression, he pipes his own little lay of gentle disparagement, and with the airy grace of a Harold Skimpole waves aside all claims that have heretofore been put forward on behalf of the writer to rank as a first-class literary artist. It is alleged that his characters are not characters but portraits carefully and fastidiously drawn; mere portraits more or less nebulous, tenuous or filmy. Mr. James' reason for the shortcomings of the writer is given at page 42. It is that he was an American, and because of the barrenness of American life, that he failed. No king, no court, no old Norman churches, etc., as sources of inspiration, is the lament of Mr. James. One is tempted to an involuntary contrast of the two men, and to speculation as to which of them will ultimately cast the broadest shadow—the American Hawthorne or his Anglican analyst; which book will be the most widely read, the Scarlet Letter or Confidence. We are irresistibly reminded of the lament of a Methodist who, speaking of De Quincy, said if he had never been addicted to the use of opium, he might have produced works worthy of admiration.

If Hawthorne had only had the advantages of James, what might he not have done.

W. C. S.

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

NAVAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA, comprising a dictionary of nautical words and phrases: Biographical notes, etc. 8vo. L. R. Hamersly & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.

PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, BATTALIONS AND LINE, 1775-1783. Edited by John Blair Linn and William H. Egle. Vol. I. 8vo. State Printer. Harrisburg, 1880.

HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN TO ITS ABSORPTION INTO CONN. By Edward E. Atwater. 16mo. Printed for the author. New Haven, 1881.

PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, 1757-1762. By Charles J. Hoadly, State Librarian. 8vo. Hartford, 1880.

OUTLINES OF UNITED STATES HISTORY. A handbook of ready reference. By R. Heber Holbrook. 16mo. J. E. Sherill. Danville, 1880.

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE NORTH-WEST. By Rufus Blanchard. 8vo. Cushing, Thomas & Co. Chicago. 1880.

CHIPS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE; OR SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES, CONVERSATION, ETC., OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Jeremiah Chaplin. 16mo. D. Lothrop & Co. Boston, 1881.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF FLATBUSH. By Gertrude Lefferts Vanderbilt. 12mo. D. Appleton & Co. 1881.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE RIGHT REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D. D. 16mo. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1881.

OLD AND NEW STYLE FIXED DATE CALENDARS. By John R. Baker. 8vo. Numismatic and Antiq. Soc. of Phila. 1881.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND FOR HONEST GOVERNMENT. By E. F. Waters. 8vo. S. Hamilton Son. New York, 1881.

POPULATION AND RESOURCES OF ALASKA—LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR—EX. DOC. NO. 40. 8vo. Washington, 1881.

PROCEEDINGS OF NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY ON 25TH OCT., 1880. MASS. CENTENNIAL. 8vo. Boston, 1880.

THE WRITINGS OF LOUIS HENNEPIN. By Rev. Edward D. Neill. 8vo. Minnesota Historical Society. 1880.

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL REUNION OF THE FIFTY-FIRST REGIMENT PENNSYLVANIA VETERAN VOLUNTEERS HELD AT NORRISTOWN, PENN., SEPT. 17, 1880. 12mo. Lane S. Hart. Harrisburg, Pa., 1880.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo. Johnson, Smith & Harrison. Minneapolis, 1879.

A STUDY OF THE SAVAGE WEAPONS AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, PHILADELPHIA, 1876. By Edward H. Knight. 8vo. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1880.

BELLEVUE, A STORY OF THE PAST AND OF THE PRESENT. By Henry D. Capers. 8vo. E. T. Hale & Son. New York, 1880.

COLLECTIONS OF THE OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY No. 2. Papers read before the Society April 7, 1879, and January 12, 1880. 8vo. By the Society. Taunton, Mass., 1880.

BIOGRAPHY OF ELDER JOHN WINEBRENNER. Semi-Centennial sketch published by Dr. George Ross. 8vo. Harrisburg, Penn., 1880.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, Jan. 3, 1881. Madison, Wisconsin, 1881.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI, including a complete roll of the Original Members, with brief biographies, etc. 8vo. Printed for the Society. Boston, 1880.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY for the year 1880. 8vo. Published by the Society. Worcester, Mass., 1881.

MEMOIR OF HENRY CLAY. By Robert C. Winthrop. 8vo. John Wilson & Co. Cambridge, 1880.

- EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.** A lecture read before the Chicago Historical Society October 19, 1880. By Robert W. Patterson, D.D. 8vo. Fergus Printing Co. Chicago, 1881.
- THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE NEGRO.** By Civis. 8vo. Clemmitt & Jones. Richmond, 1877.
- A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,** with Constitution, By-Laws, etc. 8vo. Fergus Printing Company. Chicago, 1881.
- DID THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXTEND TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN?** and our title to Oregon. By John T. Anderson. 8vo. Clark & Maynard. New York, 1881.
- A HANDY BOOK OF SYNONYMS OF WORDS IN GENERAL USE.** Small 12mo. J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.
- WASHINGTON ACADEMY.** Historical address of the Hon. James Gibson at the Centennial Celebration held at Salem, N. Y., Aug. 25-26. 8vo. No imprint. 1881.
- ANCIENT DEEDS FROM THE INDIANS OF THE TOWN OF DEDHAM,** copied by William F. Hill from the original deeds on file in the Town Clerk's office, Dedham, Mass., reproduced with heliograph. 4to. Feb., 1881.
- THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.** Embracing Sketches of its early history, and Indian, French and English local names. Read before the Buffalo Historical Society, February 27, 1865. By Orsamus H. Marshall. Reprinted for private circulation from Pub. of Buff. Hist. Soc. 8vo. Buffalo, 1881.
- CRISIS THOUGHTS.** By Col. Henry B. Carrington, U. S. A. 16mo. J. B. Lippincott, Phil., 1878.
- ROBERTSON'S LIVING THOUGHTS.** A Thesaurus. By Kerr Boyce Tupper. With an introduction by Prof. William C. Richards. 12mo. S. C. Griggs & Co. Chicago, 1881.
- PLOUGHED UNDER.** The Story of an Indian Chief. Told by himself. With an introduction. By Inshta Theambra (Bright Eyes). 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. New York, 1881.
- HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN,** to its absorption into Connecticut. By Edward E. Atwater. 8vo. Printed for the author. New Haven, 1881.
- REMINISCENCE OF A NONAGENARIAN.** Edited and illustrated by Sarah Anna Emery. 8vo. Newburyport. William H. Huse & Co. Newburyport, 1879.
- THE FRISIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.** A Historical Study. By W. T. Hewitt. 12mo. Finch & Apparg. Ithaca, N. Y., 1879.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1880-81.** 8vo. Printed for the Society. Providence, 1881.
- MONSIEUR GUIZOT IN PRIVATE LIFE, 1787-1874.** By his daughter Madame DeWitt. Authorized edition translated by M. C. M. Simpson. 16mo. Estes & Lauriat. Boston, 1881.
- PERSONAL NARRATIVES OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.** No. 7, Second Series. Reminiscences of two years with the colored troops. By J. M. Addeman. 4to. N. Bangs, Williams & Co. Providence, 1880.
- ANECDOTES OF PUBLIC MEN.** By John W. Forney. Vol. II. 16mo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.
- C. A. COOK & CO.'S UNITED STATES NEWSPAPER DIRECTORY,** revised, containing names of all the newspapers and other periodicals published in America. 8vo. C. A. Cook & Co. Chicago, Ills., 1881.
- AB-SA-RA-KA LAND OF MASSACRE:** Being the experience of an officer's wife on the plains. (Fifth edition of Mrs. Carrington's narrative.) With an outline of Indian operations and conferences from 1865 to 1878, by Col. Carrington. Revised, enlarged, etc. 16mo. J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia, 1879.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA.** With the annual addresses and reports for 1881. 8vo. Ellis H. Roberts. Utica, 1881.
- REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BOOKS AND PAPERS TO THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION,** meeting of January 27, 1881. 8vo. 6 East Fourteenth St. New York.

